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843,530











The true and  
 of the Honorable  
 Sir Walter



lively portraiture  
 and learned Knight  
 Raleigh.







THE

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SIR WALTER RALEGH  
AND HIS  
COLONY IN AMERICA.



**Boston:**

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY,

BY JOHN WILSON AND SON.

1884.

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**TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY COPIES.**

# SIR WALTER RALEGH

AND HIS

93430

## COLONY IN AMERICA.

INCLUDING

THE CHARTER OF QUEEN ELIZABETH IN HIS FAVOR, MARCH 25, 1584,  
WITH LETTERS, DISCOURSES, AND NARRATIVES OF THE VOYAGES  
MADE TO AMERICA AT HIS CHARGES, AND DESCRIPTIONS  
OF THE COUNTRY, COMMODITIES, AND INHABITANTS.

WITH HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS,

AND A

## MEMOIR

BY THE REV. INCREASE N. TARBOX, D.D.



**Boston:**

PUBLISHED BY THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

1884.

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## PORTRAITS.



WE present two heliotype copies of early engravings of Sir WALTER RALEGH. The frontispiece is taken from a copy of Raleigh's "History of the World," printed in 1677, now in the possession of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. The other, at page 95, is from an engraving in the possession of the Rev. EDMUND F. SLAFTER. It bears the following inscription: *J. Houbraken sculpsit, Amst. In the Possession of Peter Burrel Esqr. Impensis J. & P. Knapton, Londini, 1739.*







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# MEMOIR

OF

## SIR WALTER RALEGH.

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ALTER RALEGH was born in the county of Devon, whose cathedral town is Exeter. This county lies in the southwestern corner of England, dividing, with the county of Cornwall, the neck of land lying between the Bristol and English Channels. Thomas Fuller, in his great work entitled *The Worthies of England*, published in London, 1662, goes over the several counties of England in alphabetical order, giving the notable persons and events belonging to each. He thus describes Devonshire, as it was known two hundred and fifty years ago: —

“*Devonshire* hath the *narrow sea* on the South, the *Severn* on the North, *Cornwall* on the West, *Dorset* and *Somerset Shire* on the East. A goodly Province, the second in *England* for greatnesse, clear *in view* without *measuring*, as being a square of fifty miles. Some part thereof, as the *South-Hams*, is so fruitful, it needs no art; some so barren as  
Dartmore,

Dartmore, it will hardly be bettered by art; but generally (though not running of itself) it *answers to the spur of industry*. . . . As for the Natives thereof, generally they are dexterous in any employment, and *Queen Elizabeth* was wont to say of their Gentry, *They were all born courtiers with a becoming confidence.*"

It is not unnatural to suppose that the Queen may have had Raleigh<sup>1</sup> especially in her mind in this saying of hers about the Devonshire Gentry. The words seem to fit his character remarkably well, for there was a time when Raleigh had a very special place in the Queen's fancy, and, without intrusion, he knew how to use his opportunities.

The place of Raleigh's birth was the parish of Budeley.<sup>2</sup> It was near the coast, and the strange fascination of the sea played its part upon the opening mind of the boy.<sup>3</sup> The  
Raleghs

<sup>1</sup> At the time when Raleigh lived, and for a century afterward, the way of spelling proper names was utterly lawless. Each one acted according to his own fancy. A name of great publicity was almost certain to be spelled by every possible combination of letters which might seem to fill out the sound of the word. Some of the ways of spelling the name Raleigh are the following: Rawly, Rawlye, Rawley, Rawlegh, Rawleigh, Raully, Rauley, Raulegh, Rauleigh, Raleigh, &c. We have adopted the form used by the biographers Oldys and Birch, which is said to have been Raleigh's own way of writing his name. In the charter or letters-patent given him by Elizabeth in 1584 his name as printed by Hakluyt, a familiar acquaintance and friend, is uniformly spelled Raleigh.

<sup>2</sup> Written also as Budleigh, Budley, and Badley.

<sup>3</sup> "As there are conflicting pedigrees, so are there also rival claimants to the honour of being the birth-place of Raleigh. Such claims have been advanced in favour both of an old house near the Palace in Exeter, and of the venerable manor-house of Fardell on the skirts of Dartmoor. But the pretensions of the Exeter house have ceased to be put forward; they have, in truth, no claim to a moment's attention. Fardell is still occasionally visited by the devout tourist, under the influence of traditions which are resolutely — not to say stubbornly — upheld by the inhabitants of the village. . . . They will be very angry if you tell them that although Sir Walter Raleigh's forefathers lived in the house and worshipped in the Chapel, for very many generations, the great man himself was born, not at Fardell, but at Hayes, far away in the eastern corner of South Devon. . . . There

Raleghs had been people of rank in Devonshire for many generations, though the family was now in a reduced condition as to wealth. The name appears in the official records of the county for three or four hundred years previous to this time.

Walter Raleigh bore the same name with his father. It was, however, from his mother chiefly that he derived those qualities which helped to give him distinction. Raleigh's father was three times married. His third wife was Catharine, daughter of Sir Philip Champernown, spelled also Champernoun, Champernoon, and Champernon. She was the widow of Otho Gilbert, Esq. As the wife of Gilbert she had given birth to three sons, who all became so distinguished as to receive knighthood at the hands of Queen Elizabeth. These were Sir John, Sir Humphrey, and Sir Adrian Gilbert. After her marriage with Raleigh, she became the mother of two more sons, the youngest of whom, the subject of this sketch, was also knighted by Elizabeth. The Champernown family was one of somewhat higher rank in the county than that of the Raleghs at the time of this marriage.<sup>4</sup>

In the following passage taken from Fuller's *Worthies*, in his

There is, indeed, small room for controversy about these conflicting claims, since Sir Walter has put the fact out of doubt by a letter of his own." *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by Edward Edwards, 1868, pp. 9, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Arthur Champernown was a cousin of Walter Raleigh. In the year 1636 he received large tracts of land from Sir Ferdinando Gorges in the "Province of New Sommersett, in New

England," near Portsmouth, N. H. It does not appear that Sir Arthur ever came to these shores. Captain Francis Champernown, his son, came soon after the grant was made, and took possession, and here lived and died. *Vide* article by Charles W. Tuttle, A.M., in *New Eng. Historical and Genealogical Register* for January, 1874, and following numbers, in which the name is spelled Champernowne.

his chapter on Devonshire, the author rambles on in his quaint and peculiar way; but we have chosen to give him free range, for it would only mar the whole effect if we were to cut it short, or attempt to translate it into modern modes of expression.

“SIR WALTER RALEIGH. *The sons of Heth said unto Abraham, thou art a great Prince amongst us, in the choice of our Sepulchres bury thy dead, none shall withhold them from thee.* So may we say to the memory of this worthy Knight, *repose yourself in this our Catalogue under what Topick you please, of States-man, Sea-man, Souldier, Learned Writer, and what not?* His worth *unlocks* our *closest Cabinets*, and provides both *room* and *Well-come* to entertain him.

“He was born at *Budeley* in this County (The House its name was called Hayes;) of an Ancient Family, but decayed in Estate, and he the youngest brother thereof. He was bred in *Oriel Colledg* in *Oxford*,<sup>b</sup> and thence coming to Court, found some hopes of the Queens favours reflecting upon him. This made him write in a glasse Window, obvious to the Queens eye.

“‘Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall,

“Her *Majesty* either espying, or being *shown* it, did underwrite

“‘If thy heart fails thee climb not at all.’

“However

<sup>b</sup> There was another Devonshire boy, born a year later than Raleigh, near Exeter, of humble parentage, but who became one of the chief ornaments of the Elizabethan period. This was the famous Richard Hooker, who studied also at Oxford University, where he was for a time made deputy-professor of Hebrew. His great work is entitled *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*.

"However he at last *climbed* up by the *stairs* of his own desert. But his introduction into the Court bore an elder date. From this occasion: This *Captain Raleigh*, coming out of *Ireland* to the *English Court* in good habit (his Cloaths being then a considerable part of his estate) found the Queen walking, till coming to a *Plashy place*, she seemed to scruple going thereon. Presently Raleigh cast and spread his new Plush Cloak on the ground, whereon the Queen trod gently, rewarding him after wards with many *suits* for his so free and seasonable offer of so fair a *foot cloath*. *Indeed it was true of him, what was said of Cato Utisensis: that he seemed to be born to that only which he went about:* So dexterous was he in all his undertakings, in *Court*, in *Camp*, by *Sea* by *Land*, with *Sword* with *Pen*."

Raleigh was a child of six years old when Elizabeth began her long and notable reign of forty-five years.<sup>6</sup> Five of the six years covered the brief and bloody reign of Mary. It would be interesting to know far more minutely than we do how his boyhood was passed, and how he was fitted for Oxford, where he was entered at an early age. Many of the great English classical schools, now so celebrated, had then no existence. But Eton was more than two hundred years old when Raleigh was born. Harrow and Westminster schools were founded during the reign of Elizabeth. It does not appear, however, that he was sent away from home anywhere for study until he went to Oxford. Tytler says,  
"It

<sup>6</sup> The only sovereigns of England who have occupied the throne for longer periods than Elizabeth are Henry III., who reigned fifty-six years, George III., nearly sixty years, and Queen Victoria, who at this writing is passing the forty-sixth year of her reign.

"It was a happy circumstance that during the sanguinary domination of Mary he was still a boy, and secluded in the retirement of his father's country-seat, where he received, either from a domestic tutor or in some school in the neighbourhood, the rudiments of his education."<sup>7</sup> All accounts agree that he had an aptitude for study, and a great facility for acquiring knowledge. The studies preparatory to entrance upon college life in England, at that period, were doubtless much less extended than at present. Tytler says, "When very young he was sent to Oriel College, Oxford." But the expression "very young" is equivocal, though some side-lights may be thrown upon it, by which we can determine very nearly the date of his entrance upon college life. Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*,<sup>8</sup> devotes a large space to Raleigh, evidently regarding him as one of the greater lights of Oxford University. We quote a somewhat extended passage from his article:—

"WALTER RALEEIGH, a Person in his time of a good natural Wit, better Judgement and of a plausible Tongue Son of Walter Raleigh Esq, by Katharine his Wife, Daughter of

<sup>7</sup> *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by Patrick Frazer Tytler, Esq., F.R.S.: F.S.A., Edinburgh, 1833, p. 19.

<sup>8</sup> Anthony Wood, author of the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, died in 1695. His work is an exceedingly valuable one, though abounding in mistakes. He wrote at a time when the laws of exactness, which ought to prevail in the preparation of such works as his, had not become dominant as now among scholars. Rambling and hearsay evidence was more admissible than at the present time.

Lord Bacon, in his *Apophthegms*, has preserved the following item of wit from the mouth of Raleigh while he was yet a member of Oriel College: "There was in Oxford a cowardly fellow that was a very good archer. He was abused grossly by another and moaned himself to Walter Raleigh, then a scholar, and asked his advice: *What he should do to repair the wrong had been offered him?* Raleigh answered: *Why challenge him at a match of shooting.*" *Vide The Works of Francis Bacon*, London, A. Millar, 1753, p. 458.

of *Sir Philip Champernoon*, Knt. was born at a place called *Hayes* in the Parish of *East Budeleigh* in *Devonshire* an. 1552. Which *Hayes* is a Farm, and his Father having had a remnant of a Lease of 80 Years in it, it came after expiration thereof to one *Duke*: unto whom afterwards our author, *W. Raleigh* having a desire to purchase it, wrote a Letter dated from the Court 26 *July* 1584, wherein he says, that *for the natural disposition he has to that place, being born in that House, he had rather seat himself there, than any where else, &c.* His Father was the first of his Name that lived there, but his Ancestors had possessed *Furdell* (*Fardell*) in the same *County* for several Generations before, where they lived in genteel Estate, and were esteemed antient Gentlemen. In 1568 or thereabouts he became a Commoner of *Oriel Coll.* at what time *C. Champernoon*, his Kinsman, studied there, where his natural Parts being strangely advanced by Academical Learning under the care of an excellent Tutor, became the Ornament of the Juniors, and was worthily esteemed a proficient in Oratory and Philosophy. After he had spent about three Years in that House, where he had laid a good Ground and sure Foundation to build thereon, he left the University without a Degree and went to the *Middle-Temple* to improve himself in the intricate Knowledge of the municipal Laws. How long he tarried there t'is uncertain, yet sure I am, from an Epistle, or Copy of Verses of his Composition, which I have seen that he was abiding in the said Temple in *Apr* 1576 at which time his Vein for Ditty and amorous Ode was esteemed *most lofty, condolent and passionate*. As for the remaining part of his Life, it was sometimes low, and sometimes in a middle condition, and often tossed  
by



by Fortune to and fro, and seldom at rest. He was one that Fortune had pick'd up on purpose, of whom to make an example, or to use as her Tennis-Ball, thereby to show what she could do; for she toft him up out of nothing, and to and fro to greatness, and from thence down to little more than to that wherein she found him, a bare Gentleman, not that he was less, for he was well descended and of good Alliance, but poor in his beginnings. . . . *France* was the first School wherein he learn'd the Rudiments of War, and the *Low Countries* and *Ireland* made him Master of that Discipline; for in both places he expos'd himself afterwards to Land-Service."

We must take this passage for the information there is in it, without accepting its authority in certain particulars. Indeed, as a record for authority, it is exceedingly poor. The date here given for his entrance upon his college life is "in 1568 or thereabouts," and the time of his stay there "about three years." This would retain him at the college till 1571, and it is very certain that he was not there at so late a date. A more probable statement is that he left Oxford for the French wars in 1569, when he was seventeen years old. Tytler makes him join the Huguenot army during the year when the battle of Jarnac occurred. This battle, which was disastrous to the Huguenots, was fought March 13, 1569. It is doubtful whether Raleigh had then reached France, but it is wellnigh certain that he was present at the battle of Moncontour,<sup>9</sup> which took place October 3d of that same year.

It

<sup>9</sup> The strong reason for supposing that Raleigh was in this battle of Mon- contour is found in a passage incidentally introduced into his *History of the*

It is made almost certain by a variety of evidence that he left the quiet shades of Oxford for the dangers and tumults of war in the year 1569, when he was seventeen years old. If he had spent three years at the University, he must have entered at the age of fourteen, which was then, and for a hundred years afterwards, a common age for the entrance of boys at the English colleges. Some were even younger, and some were older. John Cotton was a member of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1597, at the age of thirteen. John Norton entered Peterhouse, at Cambridge, in 1620, at the age of fourteen. John Wilfon was admitted into King's College, Cambridge, in 1602, when fourteen years old. John Davenport was a member of Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1611, when not yet quite fourteen. Fourteen was, therefore, a common age for boys to enter college in England two hundred and fifty years ago, as it was the common age for entrance at Harvard College, New England, in the early years of its existence. It is possible, therefore, that young Raleigh spent three years at Oxford, though the statement to that effect by Wood is of little account, since he puts his entrance there in 1568, and, besides, sends him from Oxford to his law studies in the Middle-Temple before his warlike experiences began. This is a double confusion. It is very certain that Raleigh received a good measure of classical culture, somewhere,

*the World*, in which he says: "And yet that worthy gentleman Count Ludowick of Nassau, brother to the late famous Prince of Orange made the retreat at Moncontour with so great resolution as he saved the one-half of the Protestant army, then broken and disbanded, of which myself was an eye-

*witness*, and was one of those that had cause to thank him for it." *Vide The Works of Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt.*, to which are prefixed the Lives of the author, by Oldys and Birch. In eight volumes. Vol. I., *The Lives*. Oxford, at the University Press, 1829. Vol. VI. p. 211.

somewhere, and at some time in his life; and from the age of seventeen to fifty his days were passed amid such stirring scenes, that he could hardly have made much progress in classical studies unless he had laid a good foundation for them in his youth. His *History of the World*, as well as his other works, written in the later years of his life, shows a wide acquaintance with the old Latin authors, from whom, according to the fashion of that age, he quotes freely.

Raleigh left Oxford to join a company of gentlemen which his cousin, Henry Champernown, had been commissioned by Queen Elizabeth to enlist for the help of the Huguenots in France. It was a troop of one hundred choice and selected men, whose first warlike service in France seems to have been at the battle of Moncontour, which was fought on the 3d of October, 1569, when the Huguenots were defeated.

The history of France during the years following the Huguenot effort at reformation is complex and hard to be thoroughly understood. Still harder is it to comprehend the exact relations of the Queen and government of England to the French wars, in the years when Raleigh was doing service in the Huguenot army. It might seem, at first glance, that Elizabeth heartily espoused the Protestant interests on the continent, and was ready to furnish men and money in the good cause. But a closer study of those times reveals the fact that Elizabeth was really playing a diplomatic game. Her support of Protestantism on the continent was of a type very different from that of Oliver Cromwell, Protector, in the next century. Edwards, in his *Life of Raleigh*, says: "Henry Champernown must, one is led to think, have  
left

left College long before Raleigh, as we find him engaged in tedious negotiations at Court for the assistance of the French Protestants many months before the actual outset of the expedition. Very characteristic are those negotiations of the tricky and tortuous policy of Elizabeth's government towards the conflicting parties in France. . . . At the time of the battle of Jarnac, a long course of double-dealing, in which the English ministers, whilst keeping the Huguenots in play with fair words and promises of help, were equally anxious to amuse and pacify the royal ambassador with assurances of true alliance and friendship, had almost issued in open rupture with both. The Huguenots were again getting weary of fine words, diversified by pieces of service which looked more likely to help English ambition than to secure Protestant liberties in France."<sup>10</sup>

It is a fitting suggestion of the author from whom we have just quoted, that it was because of this crooked and half-hearted policy that we almost lose sight of Raleigh and the heroic company to which he had joined himself during the six or seven years of their stay in France. Not that he and his associates were acting in any other than good faith, but they found themselves so encompassed by this crafty net-work of public policy, that wisdom and safety seemed to dwell with silence. It is therefore impossible to recover anything more than small fragments of the history of those adventurous years. If, however, this whole course of events were plainly open to the view, it would not be consistent with the plan of this sketch that we should pause to take a minute survey

<sup>10</sup> *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by Edward Edwards, 1868, p. 27.

survey of them. Sufficient for our purpose is it to know that Raleigh was now passing through a course of life in which he was rapidly gaining wisdom by experience, and preparing himself for that larger part in which he was to act in the years to come.

He was in France during the horrible massacre on St. Bartholomew's Eve, August, 1572. Where or how he found refuge during those dreadful days of public assassination cannot be told. As friends of the Huguenots, he and his associates would very naturally have fallen a prey to Catholic vengeance, unless they had somewhere found shelter and protection.<sup>11</sup>

It certainly does not appear through all these years that he and his companions were kept under military discipline, as in the life of the camp. Some of these years were, nominally, at least, years of peace between the contending parties, and these strangers from England would naturally fall, in some good measure, into the habits of civil life.

But however these things may have been, the year 1576 is the one generally fixed upon by his biographers for his return

<sup>11</sup> "For three days and nights the work of carnage went on. The noble and faithful followers of Navarre and Condé, the choicest of the Huguenot party, who had assembled about their princes to guard them from any evil designs of the Guises, were all slain. Nor was this horrible massacre confined to Paris. At Lyons the murder was general, and burial refused to the heretics. Their bodies were thrown into the Rhone; and so numerous were they, that its course was choked with the floating corpses. As the unconscious

river wound its way through distant villages, once the messenger of tranquil beauty and freshness, watering the verdant and flowery banks, the astonished and terrified villagers beheld ghastly and mutilated bodies washed on their shores. . . . At Orleans, Rouen, and various other cities in France, all were slaughtered. It is computed that thirty thousand Huguenots perished, and that one third of the number belonged in Paris." *The Huguenots in France and America*. In two vols. Cambridge, Mass., 1843. Vol. I. p. 134.

return to England. Edwards says: "That it was in 1575 at earliest, but more probably in 1576 that Raleigh returned to England is the obvious inference from a statement made by Richard Hakluyt, and addressed, in a dedication to Raleigh himself: 'Calling to mind,' says Hakluyt, 'that you had spent more years in France than I.' Incidentally in the same book, the writer had already stated that he himself had been five years in France."

In 1576 Raleigh was twenty-four years old. He had had an opportunity to study the arts and ways of war under great military leaders, and he proved himself an apt scholar. At this point in his life, on his return to England, the prevailing testimony is that he joined an English force of 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse, to assist the States of Holland against the Spaniards, led by Don John of Austria. Raleigh is spoken of as a volunteer in this expedition, the command of which was given to Sir John Norris, at that time one of the most consummate military leaders in Europe. If Raleigh served under him for a year, he was in the best possible military school. We say if, for there is not an entire agreement among the various biographers as to this service in Holland. Edwards speaks of it as "an engagement, which is at best a probable tradition, not an established fact."

In the passage already quoted from Anthony Wood, it may be remembered that he is quite sure that Raleigh was at the Middle Temple, inditing verses and love songs, in 1576. Wood's authority for this statement might seem of little value, when we recall the fact that he makes him a dweller in this same place, through all those seven years he had spent in France. But aside from Wood's testimony,  
there

there is reason for believing that Raleigh was at the Temple during some portion of the year 1576. If he went into Holland, as suggested, his departure during 1576 would not be inconsistent with his residence at the Temple for some months during the same year. So indefinite, however, are the authorities as to what he was or was not doing during the two years after his return from France, that it is useless to waste our time in various conjectures.

After these years of mist and doubt, we are about to come upon ground over which a clearer historical light is shed. Raleigh has not yet, it is true, become connected with the court of Elizabeth, but he is about to enter upon that series of services which prepared the way for his introduction to the court. From this time onward his course is along the more open pathways of English history. The evidence of the paucity of materials for the illustration of his early life, compared with the abundance of facts for his later years, will be found in every one of his biographies. Tytler has given us a volume of 468 pages; but the record, up to the date of Raleigh's entrance at the English court at the age of thirty, covers only thirteen pages. Edwards' book is a bulky volume of 723 pages, but forty-five pages serve to bring the subject of his work to the court of Elizabeth. And something like these proportions will be found in the other works which attempt to unfold the life and times of Raleigh.

In the year 1578 he took the first step in a line of service which afterward became one of the leading features of his life. His half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, had obtained leave of the Queen to fit out an expedition to make discoveries upon the coasts of North America. Humphrey  
Gilbert

Gilbert was the second of the three sons whom Catharine Champernown had borne to Otho Gilbert in her first marriage. After the death of Otho Gilbert, his widow, upon the occasion of her marriage with the father of Sir Walter Raleigh, must naturally have taken these lads, then in early boyhood, along with her to the Raleigh home. There she gave birth to Carew and Walter Raleigh. At the time of Walter's birth, in 1552, her son, Humphrey Gilbert, was thirteen years old. As the boy Walter was passing through the years of his early childhood, Humphrey Gilbert was passing from boyhood to early manhood.

In the voyage of discovery undertaken by Sir Humphrey in 1578, an enterprise which met with great rebuffs and hindrances in England before its departure, Raleigh, then twenty-six years of age, was put in command of one of the ships, *The Falcon*, which became separated from the rest of the fleet, and made a long détour, coming back to England by herself, but escaping some of the great calamities which befell the other vessels. An attempt on the part of Sir Humphrey Gilbert to make another voyage was forbidden. He was commanded not to leave the English ports.

Spain was the great enemy to these enterprises of discovery undertaken by England on the American coasts. She claimed the lands and the treasures in all that part of the earth, by virtue of the discovery which Christopher Columbus made in his voyage of 1492. England, on the other hand, claimed that while Columbus discovered some of the islands of the West Indies, John Cabot, and Sebastian, his son, in their voyages, beginning with that of 1497, traced nearly the whole coast of the North American continent.

Spain



Spain and England, for a long course of years, stood to each other, in this department of activity, as public enemies. They hindered as far as possible each other's efforts at new discoveries, and plundered each other's ships on the high seas. Every ship fitted out from either land for these distant voyages must go as a ship of war, prepared with all the implements needed for attack and resistance.

Soon after the miscarriage of this sea-going venture of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Raleigh was called into a very different service, by the outbreak of a rebellion in Ireland, headed by the Earl of Desmond. He went as a military captain under the general command of Lord Pelham, who was afterwards succeeded by Lord Grey. Raleigh gained for himself high reputation as a soldier while in Ireland; but some difficulty occurred between him and his commander, Lord Grey, by which they were both summoned to appear and plead their cause at the court of Elizabeth. This was the beginning of his good fortune. At least this is the story as told by Sir Robert Naunton. In speaking of Raleigh he makes the following historical statement. He says: "Among the second causes of his growth that there was variance between him and my Lord Generall Gray, in his second descent into Ireland was principall, for it drew them both over to the counsell table, there to pleade their own causes, where what advantage he had in the case in controversie I know not, but he had much the better in the manner of telling his tale, infomuch as the Queene and the lords tooke no slight mark of the man and his parts."<sup>12</sup>

Edwards doubts this story about Raleigh and Lord Grey  
pleading

<sup>12</sup> *Vide Fragmenta Regalia*, London, 1814, pp. 84, 85.

pleading their cause at the Court,<sup>13</sup> on the ground that no evidence of any such encounter is found on the Council-Books. But if it was not in exactly this way that Raleigh was brought to the notice of the Queen, it was in some way growing out of this Irish rebellion. Naunton adds: "Raleigh had gotten the Queen's ear in a trice; and she began to be taken with his elocution, and loved to hear his reasons to her demands; and the truth is, she took him for a kind of oracle, which nettled them all." The words "them all" may be supposed to refer to the old courtiers, who found themselves in some measure supplanted by this gay young soldier of thirty years, who had caught the Queen's fancy at once. It may be that the old story, which came down from remote times, of the plush cloak dropped into the muddy place for the Queen to set her dainty foot upon, was the real occasion of Raleigh's introduction to the Court.<sup>14</sup> This occurred very likely on his return from quelling the Irish rebellion, when he, with other officers, may have been required to report themselves at the seat of government. At all events, in this year, 1582, Raleigh began to be known as a favorite of Elizabeth.

Sir Robert Naunton, in his rich and costly volume, already referred to, has given us pictures and brief sketches of the men

<sup>13</sup> *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by Edward Edwards, p. 49.

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Fuller, who was ten years old at the time of Raleigh's death, in his *Worthies of England*, reports, as we have already seen, this story of the cloak. Anthony Wood, born a few years later, also gives us the same account in substance. Sir Walter Scott, in

the fifteenth chapter of his novel entitled *Kenilworth*, wrought the incident into his powerful narrative, and thus did more than any other one to give it a wide currency. The incident may have received various colorings by different writers, but it can hardly be doubted that there was a germ of historical truth as a foundation.

men who composed the Court of Elizabeth. We give their names in the order in which they stand in his volume: Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester; Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Suffex; William Cecil, Lord Burleigh; Sir Philip Sydney; Sir Francis Walsingham; Lord Willoughby; Sir Nicholas Bacon; Henry Lord Norris; Sir Francis Knowles; Sir John Perrot; Sir Christopher Hatton; Earl of Nottingham; Sir John Packington; Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon; Sir Walter Raleigh; Sir Foulke Greville, Lord Brooke; Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; Richard Sackville, Lord Buckhurst; Charles Mount, Lord Mountjoy; Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury; Sir Francis Vere; Edward Somerset, Marquis of Worcester. The volume containing the sketches of these men is one of sumptuous pages, with generous margins and large vacant spaces. If their relative rank and importance, in the mind of the writer, may be determined by the number of pages allotted them, the case stands thus: to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester; William Cecil, Lord Burleigh; Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, are given eight pages each; Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, has seven pages; and Lord Mountjoy, Sir John Perrot, and Sir Walter Raleigh, have six each. There are fifteen others who occupy only two, three, or four pages. Robert Naunton,<sup>15</sup> the author of this book, was born in 1563, five years after Elizabeth came to the throne. He lived through the reigns of Elizabeth, and of James I., and into the reign of Charles I., dying

<sup>15</sup> Naunton was educated at Cambridge. At the time James I. came to the throne he was living at the University, and had the office of public orator.

He attracted the favorable notice of the new king, who called him to court, and gave him important offices; among the rest, that of Secretary of State.

dying in 1635. In reading the sketch of Sir Walter Raleigh in this volume of Naunton, and then turning to the article on Raleigh by Anthony Wood in the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, one sees that some of the most noticeable passages in the latter are drawn from the former; not without acknowledgment, it is true, though it might puzzle the reader, if he should not compare the two works carefully, to know exactly where the indebtedness begins, and where it ends. The following, already quoted in part, is one of the passages which Wood copied from Naunton, changing here and there a word, either by mistake or by design. "Sir Walter Raleigh was one that it seems fortune had picked out of purpose of whom to make an example or to use as her tennis-ball, thereby to shew what she could do; for she tossed him up out of nothing, and to and fro to greatnesse, and from thence downe to little more than to that wherein she found him, a bare gentleman. Not that he was lesse, for he was well-descended and of good alliance, but poore in his beginnings: and for my Lord of Oxford's jest of him, for a Jack of an upstart, we all know that it favoured more of emulation, and his humour, than of truth."<sup>16</sup> The reference here made to Lord Oxford's jest about the Jacks is explained in one of Lord Bacon's Apophthegms, which is as follows: —

"When Queen Elizabeth had advanced Raleigh, she was one day playing upon the virginals, and my Lo. of Oxford and another nobleman stood by. It fell out so that the ledge before the jacks was taken away, so as the jacks were seen: My Lo. of Oxford and the other nobleman smiled, and a little

<sup>16</sup> *Athenæ Oxonienses*, London, 2 vols., 1815, Vol. II. p. 235.

little whispered: The Queen marked it, and would needs know, *What the matter was?* My Lo. of Oxford answered; *That they smiled to see that when Jacks went up Heads went down.*"<sup>17</sup>

From the care which Bacon took to preserve and hand down this saying, it was probably regarded as a brilliant piece of wit in the court circles of England. My Lord of Oxford, who was quite sure of the high quality of his own blood, and the ancient dignity of his house, felt himself entitled to be mean enough to make this rude thrust at one who had been "poore in his beginnings." Especially now, as he saw him rising in favor with the Queen, while others were thrust aside to give him place, he perpetrated this jest about the jacks and the heads, which must have been well-nigh as insulting to the Queen as to Raleigh. However, my Lord of Oxford seems to have passed into a long retiracy, and to have left little behind him by which to be remembered except this joke. Naunton does not include him in his list of courtiers, but intimates very plainly that he was moved to make this speech out of "emulation" or his "humour," and not by regard for truth. His emulation most likely might have been rightly called envy.

Elizabeth<sup>18</sup> was nearly fifty years of age when Raleigh was introduced

<sup>17</sup> *The Works of Francis Bacon*, London, A. Millar, 1753, p. 475.

<sup>18</sup> "Elizabeth—to take her in her original she was the daughter of King Henry the 8th, by Ann Bullen, the second of 6 wives which he had, and one of the maydes of honour to the divorced Queene Katharine of Austria (or as the now styled Infanta of Spain)

and from thence taken to the Royal bed. That she was not of a most noble and royal extract by her father, will not fall into question for on that side was disimboynd into her veynes by a confluence of blood the very abstract of all the houses in Christendome." *Fragmenta Regalia*, by Sir Robert Naunton. London, 1814, pp. 1, 2.

introduced to her court and her society, he being then thirty years old. In spite of her age, it was very necessary to her peace and happiness that there should be some one standing near her, having in his air and manner all the ardor and devotion of a lover. If there were two or three occupying this position at the same time, so that she might have full opportunity to play at her games of coquetry, all the better.

It would be hard to find a woman in history who combined a certain masculine understanding and strength of purpose with more feminine weaknesses and frivolities than did Elizabeth. Of the sovereigns occupying the English throne, she stands among the foremost for the strength and dignity of her reign. The Tudor blood, which flowed in her veins, was often turbulent and fiery, but was free from those meaner qualities which marked the Stuart race that succeeded her. She was, however, a coquette of the most obdurate type, even down to her old age. Reason and prudence kept her in a good measure from dangerous entanglements; but at threescore years, and beyond, she demanded and received the soft speeches and compliments such as are wont to be bestowed upon blooming maidens of eighteen. It was in her old age that Shakespeare indited his magnificent piece of flattery for her. The great dramatist knew well the market which he was supplying when he wrote : —

“ That very time I saw (but thou could’st not,)  
Flying between the cold moon and the earth  
Cupid all arm’d : a certain aim he took  
At a fair vestal thronèd by the west,  
And loosèd his love shaft smartly from his bow,  
As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts :

But

*Memoir of*

But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft  
 Quench'd in the chaste beams of the watery moon ;  
 And the imperial vot'refs passed on  
 In maiden meditation fancy-free." <sup>19</sup>

Through her whole life she kept the arts and the airs of coquetry. It seemed to be a part of her daily business, in her interviews with her favorite courtiers, to take a turn in the game of playing at lovers. Edwards, in his *Life of Raleigh*, records what De Maurier, son of the French Ambassador, wrote of her: "I heard from my father that at every audience he had with her she pulled off her gloves more than a hundred times, to display her hands, which were, indeed very beautiful and very white."<sup>20</sup> So peculiar was she in her daily interviews with her favorites, that she enkindled in them hopes and ambitions which could never be realized. If we could know all the idle dreams which stirred in the hearts of Leicester, Essex, Cecil, Raleigh, and others, during their connection with the English Court, it would be a chapter of "Great Expectations," very different from anything which Dickens contemplated in his stirring story. From all sources of information it is made plain that she was as nice and exacting with reference to everything that belonged to her as an unmarried woman, as in her capacity as Queen. In the gravest affairs of State her womanly consciousness never left her.

On the other hand, she could rise, with a manly strength, to meet great exigencies, and prove herself every inch a queen.

<sup>19</sup> *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act II., Scene 2.

<sup>20</sup> *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by Edward Edwards, 1868, p. 53.

queen. Tytler quotes from the *Cabala* the speech<sup>21</sup> which she made to her foldiers, in the camp at Tilbury, in that memorable year 1588, when the Spanish Armada was preparing to make its descent upon the English coast. It has a grand patriotic ring, and nothing could have been better fitted to stir the heroic blood in the veins of her foldiers.

This is the address: "My loving people, we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety to take heed how we commit our selves to armed multitudes for fear of treachery; but I assure you I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear! I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects; and, therefore, I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation and sport, but being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down for my God, for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know that I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain,"<sup>22</sup>

or

<sup>21</sup> *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by Patrick Frazer Tytler, F.R.S., F.S.A., Edinburgh, 1833, p. 86. Hume, in his *History of England*, 8 vols., Edinburgh, 1803, Vol. V. p. 248, also quotes this speech of the Queen. The *Cabala* is a volume containing some of the important state papers issuing from the English court during the reigns of Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and onward to the time of Charles I. Several editions of the work have been published. There is a London edition, 1654, in the library

of the Boston Athenæum. There is an edition of 1691 in the Boston Public Library. In neither of these do we find the passage which Tytler quotes, and unfortunately he does not give the edition which he used.

<sup>22</sup> Spain was the great ally of the Pope, and there were many Roman Catholics in England, not a few of them probably in the army, who might be suspected of sympathizing with Spain in her designs as against Protestant England and her Queen.



or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms! To which rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general, the judge and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already by your forwardness, that you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you on the word of a prince they shall be duly paid. In the meantime my lieutenant-general<sup>23</sup> shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded more noble or more worthy subject; nor will I suffer myself to doubt but that by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valor in the field we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people."

Such was the woman,<sup>24</sup> weak and frivolous in her hours of idleness and ease, but of strong and commanding purpose as the proud ruler of a proud people, into whose court and intimate society Raleigh was now thrown. He had reached such an age, and had already passed through such a variety of experiences, that physically and mentally he was in the full vigor of manhood. He was nineteen years younger than Elizabeth, and had, as Naunton describes him, "a good  
preference

<sup>23</sup> Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, was the chief commander of the land forces, while Lord Howard of Effingham, high-admiral of England, who was a Roman Catholic, had the chief command of the Fleet. It was as a guest of Leicester that the Queen made her stay in the camp when this speech was delivered.

<sup>24</sup> Speaking of the impulse imparted to society in England by the reign of

Elizabeth, Goldsmith says: "Thus the whole island seemed as if roused from her long habits of barbarity: arts, commerce and legislation, began to acquire new strength; and such was the state of learning at that time, that some fix this period as the Augustan age of England. Sir Walter Raleigh and Hooker are considered as the first improvers of our language." Goldsmith's *History of England*, London, 1774, Vol. III. p. 154.

presence in a handsome and well-compacted person." Fuller has already told us that at the time of his entrance at the court his clothes made a "considerable part of his estate." He seems to have had an innate love for the luxury and splendor of dress. He lived at a period when gentlemen as well as ladies indulged in all the glory of gay colors. Edwards, describing some of the more noted pictures of him, says: "In another full-length, which long remained in the possession of his descendants, he is apparelled in a white satin pinked vest, close-sleeved to the wrist with a brown doublet finely flowered and embroidered with pearls, and a sword-belt, also brown and similarly decorated. Over the right hip is seen the jewelled pommel of his dagger. He wears his hat, in which is a black feather with a ruby and pearl-drop. His trunk hose and fringed garters appear to be of white satin. His buff-coloured shoes are tied with white ribbons."<sup>25</sup>

In all the pictures we have of him there is almost nothing to suggest the typical Englishman, burly and robust. About six feet in height, he is rather thin than corpulent, and in the vivacity of expression and the nervous cast of his features he resembles rather the modern New-Englander than the old-time Englishman. There was a peculiar fascination in his address, and it is certain from all accounts that the Queen was thoroughly taken with him from the very first. The old courtiers were, as we have seen, greatly disturbed at the ascendancy suddenly gained by this handsome young man of thirty over the fancies of Elizabeth.

We

<sup>25</sup> *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by Edward Edwards, 1868, pp. 51, 52.

We have referred to the disastrous voyage of discovery undertaken by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1578, in which Raleigh bore a part. In the year 1583 Sir Humphrey planned another voyage upon a larger scale, and one in which the public took a far more lively interest. Sir Walter, who helped forward the enterprise, would have embarked personally in the expedition, except that the Queen would not allow her new favorite to be exposed to "dangerous sea-fights." He was too precious in her eyes to be left to encounter stormy seas and Spanish ships of war, so she forbade him to leave the court for any such rough adventures.

As an illustration of the exciting interest then felt throughout European lands in these voyages of discovery, take the following: In the early part of the year 1583, when Sir Humphrey Gilbert was making preparations for this second voyage to the new world, there was in England a Hungarian scholar by the name of Stephen Parmenius. He had received a liberal education in the institutions of Hungary, after which he visited the universities of other European lands to enlarge his knowledge and perfect his culture. In England he found a home altogether to his liking, so that his stay was prolonged. He was freely introduced at the Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and found great delight in the society of English scholars and gentlemen. In London he made the acquaintance of Mr. Richard Hakluyt, who had already become well known as the author of a work on voyages and discoveries. By him he was introduced to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, just then earnestly engaged in preparations for his new voyage. Sir Humphrey was a ripe and polished scholar, as well as a man of action. He was educated

cated at Eton, and at Oxford University. What was still better, he was, in heart and life, a noble specimen of Christian manhood, large-souled and generous.

So deeply was the learned Hungarian impressed with Sir Humphrey, that he wrote a Latin hexameter poem of three hundred and nineteen lines in honor of him and his proposed expedition. A few sentences from the introduction will explain the feelings under which it was written. He says: "While I was taking pains to pay my respects to the excellent men of London, and to become acquainted with them, my very accomplished and learned friend, Richard Hakluyt, introduced me to you, explaining to me at the same time, your most noble design of shortly conducting a colony into the new world. In the mean time I could perceive that that body and spirit of yours were worthy of the perpetual remembrance of posterity, and hence began to attend to them with such respect, that when, soon after, I everywhere heard more respecting your virtues and exploits, I thought it the most favorable time possible to discharge some part of my duty and to express somewhat of my regard toward you and your nation. This is the primary origin of my poem. For the rest may you prosperously go and return, most noble sir, and secure my regard by your benevolence, authority and renown, Farewell."<sup>26</sup>

The

<sup>26</sup> This poem, with the letter accompanying, may be found in Vol. IX. 1st series, of the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, pp. 55-75. It would be regarded now chiefly as a learned curiosity. But, as already intimated, it is a most significant proof of the profound interest taken in these voyages of discovery. A few lines of this

poem in the original Latin and in their English translation may be given as a specimen of the style of work, which is by no means unworthy: —

"Ut pacis bellique bonis notissima vasto  
Insula OCEANO, magni decus ANGLIA  
mundi;  
Postquam opibus dives, populo numerosa  
frequenti,

The introduction from which the above extract has been taken bears date March 31, 1583, which was probably about the time of the presentation of the poem to Sir Humphrey. It is evident from the expression at the end of the above passage that the writer, at that time, had no thought of bearing Sir Humphrey company upon this expedition. But by some influence, before the sailing of the fleet, on the 11th of June of the same year, he had concluded to cast in his lot with the adventurers. Sir Humphrey was successful in discovering and taking possession of Newfoundland.

There is extant a letter written by Stephen Parmenius, at St. John's Port, Newfoundland, August 6, 1583. On the return voyage to England, the ship which carried Sir Humphrey and his learned companion foundered, September 9, 1583; and they, with about one hundred other persons on board, suddenly perished.

In the writings of Sir Humphrey may be found a sentence showing his noble aims and purposes; and his death, under these circumstances, may be regarded as a testimony to his sincerity. "He is not worthy to live at all who for fear or danger

Tot celebris factis, toto caput extulit  
orbe;  
Non incauta fui, nequando immensa potestas  
Pondere sit ruitura suo, nova mœnia natis  
Quærat, et in longum extendat sua regna  
recessum,  
Non aliter quam cum ventis sublimibus  
aptæ  
In nidis crevere grues, proficiscitur ingens  
De nostra ad tepidum tellure colonia  
NILUM."

"In the vast Ocean lifts her head erect  
Above the spacious earth, a well known  
Isle

In peace and war far famed, pride of the  
world,  
ENGLAND, for wealth, for numbers,  
deeds, renown'd;  
Aware that time may come, when power  
immenſe  
By its own weight may fall, new walls she  
seeks  
And stretches far, for her own sons, her  
realms:  
So when in nests, flocks firmly fledged  
have grown,  
Fit for the lofty winds, in flocks they move  
Forth from our climate to the tepid Nile."

danger of death shunneth his country's services or his own honour, since death is inevitable and the fame of virtue immortal."

Although the Queen would not suffer the absence of Raleigh from the court, to take part personally in this expedition, yet he was not forbidden to share in its expenses, and devoted £2,000 to the purchase and manning of one of the vessels, which was called *The Ark Raleigh*. Unfortunately, however, sickness soon broke out among the crew of this ship, and it was compelled to return to the English port, while Sir Humphrey went on his way, thinking that *The Ark Raleigh* had basely deserted him.

We have now reached that point of time in the life of Raleigh when the work of western discovery and colonization was, for a course of years, to occupy his chief thought and care. He had much to discourage and hold him back. The two unfortunate ventures of his half-brother, ending in his death, would have taken all courage out of a man of less resolute will and purpose. But we shall have occasion to notice, as we trace the events of the years to come, that Raleigh was a man ready to contend stoutly and perseveringly against the most adverse fortunes.

Not more than six months after the death of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, about the beginning of the year 1584, Raleigh associated himself with another of his half-brothers, Sir Adrian Gilbert, and with John Davys, the Queen granting them a charter under the somewhat romantic title, "The College of the Fellowship for the Discouery of the North-West Passage." This, however, was quickly superseded on March 25, 1584, by a charter far more comprehensive. It

was

was given to "Our trusty and well-beloued seruant Walter Raleigh, Esquire, his heirs and assigns . . . to discover such remote heathen and barbarous lands, not actually possessed by any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people as to him or them shall seem good, to hold the same with all prerogatiues, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties and privileges by sea and land," &c.<sup>27</sup>

In 1584 when Raleigh received his ample charter from Elizabeth for the discovery and occupation of new lands, little had been done in the way of exploring the American continent. What was known of this vast territory was confined to its fringes along the ocean, as they had been observed by the passing ships, or by occasional landings, in which some slight intercourse and acquaintance had been established here and there with the natives. Of the interior features of the continent almost nothing was known.

In about a month from the time when Raleigh was commissioned for his great enterprise, he had prepared two vessels, and placed them under the command of Mr. Philip Amadas and Mr. Arthur Barlow. They set sail April 27, 1584. They crossed the ocean successfully, arriving on the borders of Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds on the coast of what is now North Carolina. Their entrance from the main ocean was probably by New Inlet, as it is now called. On hearing of the results of the voyage, Raleigh called the new country, with the concurrence of the Queen, Virginia.

They explored Roanoke Island, lying in the waters connecting Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds. Strachey describes

<sup>27</sup> This Charter may be found, in full, in the subsequent pages of this volume.

scribes it as "fifteen to sixteen miles long, a pleasaunt and fertile grownd full of sedars, saxafras, currants, flax, vines, deere, conies, hares, and the tree that beareth the rind of black synamon."<sup>28</sup>

The two captains, after considerable intercourse of a pleasant nature with the natives of the country, and having gathered such commodities as were convenient, returned to England, taking back with them two of the natives of the country.

In order to give Raleigh the means of carrying on voyages of discovery, the Queen bestowed upon him many gifts, offices, and prerogatives, from which great revenues might come to his hands. The rich estates of Anthony Babington, forfeited to the crown because of his efforts to murder Elizabeth and bring Mary of Scotland to the throne, were given to Raleigh. Twelve thousand acres of the confiscated lands in Ireland, which had belonged to the Earl of Desmond and his associates in the late rebellion, were also given to him. Large monopolies, such as licensing the exportation of broadcloths, the right of the manufacture and sale of wine throughout the kingdom, were also conferred upon him. He was made Lord Warden of the Stannaries in Cornwall and Devon. The tin mines of these two southwestern counties of England have long been esteemed of rare value. Far back in the history of England the sovereign had a claim on all mines of gold and silver found within his dominions. So valuable were these  
mines

<sup>28</sup> *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Brittania*, by William Strachey, Gent., London, Hakluyt Society, 1849, p. 142.



mines of tin, that they were placed in the same category with those of gold and silver. The word Stannaries may refer to the mines themselves, or to the peculiar laws and usages by which they are regulated and governed. Raleigh, as Lord Warden of the Stannaries, had under him two deputy wardens, one for Cornwall and one for Devonshire. He had also other high offices conferred upon him, which were rather for glory and honor than pecuniary profit.<sup>29</sup>

Elizabeth was in a mood to shower favors upon the young courtier, and while the outward reason given was that she might thus aid him for his work of foreign discoveries, she was not probably disposed to inquire very carefully whether his income all went in that direction or not.

It required no little patience and skill on the part of Raleigh to render his Irish estates profitable. But one of the felicities of this possession was that it brought him, during his residence in Ireland, into the immediate neighborhood of Edmund Spenser, author of the "Faery Queen." Spenser was called to Ireland as the secretary of Grey de Wilton, lord lieutenant of the island, and for his faithful attendance to the duties of this office he was rewarded by a gift of three thousand acres of land in the county of Cork. Raleigh and Spenser were of the same age, both born in 1552. They were alike largely endowed with the *belles-lettres* spirit. The tastes of both were somewhat romantic. Their meeting away from their English home across the channel was not without its influence in bringing them into a more loving and ardent companionship than

<sup>29</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Addenda, 1580-1625, July 7, 1586.*

than might ever have been formed at home. Certain it is that for years they were banded together like Damon and Pythias.

Raleigh figures under different names and in different periods in the poetry of Spenser. Not only when he was in great favor at the Court did the poet thoroughly sympathize with him, but when he became subject to the ill-will and jealousies of the capricious Queen, Spenser remained his friend, and painted his fortunes under various disguises of names and places.<sup>30</sup>

In the early spring of 1585 Raleigh made preparations for a much larger expedition to his new-found realm in America.

A

<sup>30</sup> At the time when Raleigh and Spenser made each other's acquaintance, Spenser was not known in the English court, while Raleigh was in the full tide of favor. His friendship for Spenser was shown in bringing him and his writings to the notice of the Queen. In Spenser's poem, entitled "Colin Clouts Come Home Againe," he tells the story of his first acquaintance with Raleigh:—

"One day (quoth he) I sat (as was my trade)  
Under the foot of Mole, that mountain  
hore,  
Keeping my sheepe amongst the cooly  
shade  
Of the greene alders by the Mullaes  
shore:  
There a straunge Shepheard chaunst to  
find me out;  
Whether allured with my pipes delight,  
Whose pleasing sound yshrilled far about,  
Or thither led by Chaunce, I know not  
right:  
Whom, when I asked from what place he  
came  
And how he hight; himselfe he did  
yleepe

The Shepheard of the Ocean by name,  
And said he came far from the main-sea  
deepe.

"He sitting me beside in that same shade  
Provoked me to plaie some pleasant fit:  
And when he heard the musicke which I  
made,  
He found himselfe full greatly pleased at  
it!"

Thence he goes with him to the  
Court of the Queen, and introduces  
him:—

"The Shepheard of the Ocean (quoth he)  
Unto that Goddesse grace me first en-  
hanced;  
And to mine oaten pipe inclined her eare,  
That she thenceforth therein gan take  
delight,  
And it desired at timely hours to heare  
Yet were my notes but rude and roughly  
dight  
For not by measure of her own great  
mynd  
And wondrous worth she mott my simple  
song  
But joy'd that country shepheard ought  
could fynd  
Worth hearkening to emongst that learned  
throng."

A fleet consisting of seven vessels, the principal of which were the *Tyger* of 140 tons, the *Roebuck* of 140 tons, the *Lyon* of 100 tons, and the *Elizabeth* of 50 tons, set sail from Plymouth harbor on the 9th of April. Sir Richard Grenville was in chief command of the naval expedition, and Mr. — Ralph Lane was the chief in civil command. There were on board several who bore the title of English gentlemen, as Thomas Candish, John Arundell, John Clarke, Messrs. Raymond, Stukeley, Bremige, Vincent, whereof, as the narrative says, "some were captains and other some assistants for counsell and good directions in the voyage."

It was the habit of the early navigators sailing from England for the American shores, whatever might be their special designation, to fall, as soon as might be, into the track of Columbus, and push for the West Indies. Thence they would often take a new departure for more northern explorations. So in this expedition, after a great variety of experiences, on the whole prosperous, the fleet reached the town of Isabella on the north side of the island of St. Domingo, on the first day of June.

It was not until the closing days of June that the fleet reached the region of the island of Roanoke, where Barlow and Amidas had made their stay the year before. The natives which were taken to England returned with this expedition. One of them, named Manteo, did good service in opening the way for the landing and friendly reception of the fleet. Here again we must not stop to dwell on the particulars of this summer's experiences. Sir Richard Grenville remained until the 25th of August, when he set sail for England, having despatched the ship *John Arundell* on the  
voyage

voyage home, the 5th of August. Grenville on his return voyage captured a richly laden Spanish ship of 300 tons burden, and brought the prize into Plymouth harbor on the 18th of October, 1585.

Ralph Lane, left in command of the colony, remained, with one hundred and eight men. On the 3d of September he wrote to Richard Hakluyt, giving him fuller particulars than had before been communicated as to the character of the country. During the stay of Lane and his company in the country through the winter of 1585-86 they made explorations farther north around the Chesapeake Bay and the James River, thus gradually gaining knowledge of what afterwards proved to be the real gateways to Virginia colonization. A much fuller account of their proceedings was sent by Lane to Raleigh, June 18, 1586.

This second expedition of Raleigh, so auspiciously begun, in its endings was peculiarly unfortunate. By one or two rash acts on the part of some of the party they incurred the hostility of the natives, so that it was almost impossible to obtain from them supplies of provisions, or to carry on trade with them. While they were in this depressing condition, it happened that Sir Francis Drake, on a voyage to that part of the world, thought he would look in on the colony which his friend Sir Walter Raleigh was planting in America. He found the company in great distress and anxiety, and at the request of Lane furnished him with one of his ships and some smaller craft, that Lane might take his party home to England. Before he had time, however, to embark there came on a furious storm, lasting four days, which destroyed the ship that Drake had furnished, and drove his other

other vessels to sea, scattering them in various directions. After the storm was past, Drake returned and took on board Lane and his companions, and landed them in England on the 27th of July, 1586.<sup>31</sup>

But this was not the end of their calamities. Only a few days after Lane and his men had left for home, a vessel of one hundred tons burden, well supplied by provisions, sent out by Raleigh, reached the colony. Finding no Englishmen there, the vessel turned back to England. A fortnight after came Sir Richard Grenville with three ships, which Raleigh had sent over. Finding the country deserted by the English settlers, they left fifteen men at Roanoke Island, with ample store of provisions, and departed to try their fortunes in hunting and capturing Spanish prizes.

It seems to be generally admitted that, when Lane and his company went back to England, they carried with them tobacco as one of the products of the country, which they presented to Raleigh, as the planter of the colony, and by him

<sup>31</sup> "Then coasting along the shore of Florida, they seized upon two towns, S. *Antioines* & S. *Hellens* both of them abandoned by the *Spanish* gar-risons and burnt them. Lastly, sayling along by a watted coast, they found certaine *Englishmen* which had seated themselves in *Virginia*, so named in honour of Queene ELIZABETH a Virgin, whom Sir Walter Raghley, a man in great favour with Queene ELIZABETH had sent thither of late for a colony in a most commendable desire to discover farre countries, and to advance the glory of *England* for navigation. To *Ralph Lane* their Captaine, *Drake* offered all offices of kindnesse, and a ship or two with victuals, and some

men, if he thought good to stay there and prosecute his enterprife; if not to bring them backe into *England*. But whilst they were lading of victuals into those ships, an extraordinary storme carried them away, and dispersed the Fleet in such fort, that they met not againe till they came into *England*. Hereupon *Lane* and those which were carried thither, being in great penury, and out of all hope of victuals out of *England*, and greatly weakened in their number with one voyce befought *Drake* that he would carry them back againe into their owne Country which hee willingly did." *History of the Reign of Elisabeth*, by William Camden, London, 1685, pp. 285, 286.

him it was brought into use in England, and gradually in other European countries. The authorities are not entirely agreed upon this point. Joffelyn says: "Tobacco first brought into *England* by Sir *John Hawkins*, but it was first brought into use by Sir *Walter Rawleigh* many years after."<sup>32</sup> Again he says: "Now (say some) Tobacco was first brought into *England* by Mr. *Ralph Lane*, out of *Virginia*. Others will haue Tobacco to be first brought into *England* from *Peru*, by Sir *Francis Drake's* Mariners."<sup>33</sup>

Camden fixes its introduction into England by Ralph Lane and the men brought back with him in the ships of Drake. He says: "And these men which were brought backe were the first that I know of, which brought into England that *Indian* plant which they call *Tobacco* and *Nicotia*, and use it against crudities, being taught it by the *Indians*. Certainly from that time it began to be in great request, and to be sold at a high rate, whilst very many every where, some for wantonneffe, some for health, suck in with insatiable greedineffe the stinking smoke thereof thorow an earthern pipe and prefantly snuffe it out at their nostrils; insomuch as *Tobacco* shops are kept in Townes every where, no les than tap-houfes and tauerns."<sup>34</sup>

Tytler gives the following anecdote: "There is a well-known tradition that Sir Walter first began to smoke it privately

<sup>32</sup> *Chronological Observations of America*, from the year of the World to the year of Christ, 1673, by John Joffelyn. Bound with Joffelyn's *Two Voyages to New England*. Boston, William Veazie, 1865, p. 176.

<sup>33</sup> *Idem*, p. 179.

<sup>34</sup> *Historie of the Reign of Elizabeth, Queen of England*, by William Camden, 3d edition, London, 1685, p. 286.

vately in his study, and his servant coming in with his tankard of ale and nutmeg, as he was intent upon his book, seeing the smoke issuing from his mouth, threw all the liquor in his face by way of extinguishing the fire ; and running down stairs, alarmed the family with piercing cries that his master, before they could get up, would be burnt to ashes." <sup>85</sup>

There were two other productions which were introduced from the New World to the Old, some say through Raleigh's agency, which have been of vastly greater utility to mankind than tobacco. These are the potato and Indian corn.

Among the one hundred and eight men left in the colony with Ralph Lane in 1585 was Mr. Thomas Hariot, a man of a strongly mathematical and scientific turn, whose services in this connection were greatly valued. He remained there an entire year, and went back to England in 1586. He wrote out a full account of his observations in the New World, which will be found in this work.

The expedition which Raleigh fitted out in 1586 for the relief of the colony, of which we have just given some brief account, is reckoned as the third voyage prosecuted under his auspices.

His fourth voyage, with three ships and one hundred and fifty men, incorporated into a colony before leaving England, under the command of John White, left Portsmouth, England, April 26, 1587. The expedition reached the West Indies on the 19th of June, and on the 22d of July they arrived safely at the old anchorage ground near Roanoke Island. On looking for the fifteen men that had been left there

<sup>85</sup> *Life of Raleigh*, by Patrick Frazer Tytler, Edinburgh, 1833, p. 64.

there in the summer of 1586, they found them not, but soon had reasons for believing that they had been murdered by the natives, in revenge for real or fancied wrongs. It was during this expedition, in the summer of 1587, that Eleanor, daughter of John White, and wife of Ananias Dare, one of the Assistants of the colony, gave birth to a daughter; and as this was the first English child born in the colony, they fixed upon her, in baptism, the name of Virginia, in compliment to their new settlement.

Disaster, in almost every form, still seemed to hang about the infant colony. Many of those who had come out with White, in a few months desired to return to England. The relations of the colony to the natives of the country, by various mishaps, had become complicated and dangerous. Finally, White, their governor, was persuaded to return to England for further supplies. He left on the 27th of August, and reached England on the 5th of November. There remained eighty-nine men, with between twenty and thirty women and children.

When White reached England he found the whole land in a most unexampled state of excitement and fear. Philip II. of Spain was preparing to invade England with such land and naval forces that he thought no power could stand before them. With pride and boasting he went on organizing his Invincible Armada, as it was called, with which he intended to sweep down upon the shores of England in a terrific storm of war. Spain was then among the strongest powers of Europe, and this was one of the most critical moments in English history.

White found Raleigh intensely occupied with the question  
how



how to defend England from the blow of the Spaniard. He did, however, so far pause in his work as to make arrangements for sending two vessels with supplies, under the command of White, to the colonists in America. But his vessels were attacked by Spanish cruisers, and so injured that they were obliged to return to England for repairs. Everybody was now so much occupied in England, that men could not be found to repair the damaged ships, and the colonists, for the time, were necessarily neglected.

A wave of heroic enthusiasm rolled over all classes in England at this critical juncture, and every man seemed ready to do his utmost to repel the invader. We need not follow out events in their detail. Sir Walter Raleigh showed himself one of the wisest counsellors and boldest actors in England. The general idea of the English leaders was that they could not match Spain on the sea, but must be ready, by an immense gathering of land forces, to repel the invader wherever he should attempt to make a landing. Raleigh insisted strenuously that the Spaniard should be met and encountered on the ocean a good way off from the English shore; that if he were allowed to approach the shore, he could turn his vessels this way or that far more rapidly than the English land forces could be moved from point to point, and so be almost sure to effect a landing at some unprotected place.

Tytler, speaking of the prominent men in England at that time, says: "Amongst these one of the most distinguished was Raleigh; and in the consultations, as well as in the active duties of this season of trial, he bore a principal part. It is apparent from his writings that he had long studied

studied the question relative to the best means of opposing the power of Spain; he was acquainted, better perhaps than any man in England, with the strength and resources of that kingdom; he was an excellent soldier and intimately conversant with naval subjects, whilst his zeal for the honour of the queen and the glory of his country, was not behind that of any of her servants."<sup>86</sup>

Farther on he quotes from Raleigh's writings a passage illustrative of a point already mentioned, and which clearly reveals his good judgment and common sense. He says: "There is no man ignorant that ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily outrun the soldiers that coast them. . . . When those troops lodged on the sea-board, shall be forced to march from place to place, in vain, after a fleet of ships, they will at length sit down in the midway and leave all in adventure. . . . A strong army in a good fleet could not possibly be prevented from landing where it deemed best upon the coast of England, unless hindered by a fleet of equal, or at least answerable strength."<sup>87</sup>

These wise counsels were heeded, and many of the gentlemen of England helped to furnish and equip vessels for this great encounter.

It was on the 20th of July, 1588, that the Spanish Armada, which had been prepared with the most lavish expenditures of money, and carrying an army of naval and land forces of more than 30,000 men, was seen bearing down upon the English coast. These war vessels of the Spaniards,  
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<sup>86</sup> *Life of Raleigh*, by Patrick Frazer Tytler, Edinburgh, 1833, p. 78.

<sup>87</sup> *Raleigh's Works*, in eight vols., Oxford, 1829, Vol. VI. pp. 102, 103.

one hundred and thirty-four in number, besides smaller craft, divided into seven squadrons, were ranged into a gigantic semicircle, the horns of which were seven miles apart.<sup>88</sup> Proudly came on this fleet, as if to an assured victory. But on its first encounter with the lighter and quicker English vessels, which took place on the 21st of July, many of the Spanish vessels suffered damage, and some of them were taken. Raleigh was in the English fleet, and it was his advice not to come into close encounter with the heavier ships of the enemy, but to hover around them, and pour in a broadside as opportunity offered. This sea-fight continued in a broken way for many days, in which the English were all the while getting a clear advantage, until the 29th of July, when the final blow was struck, and the English were victorious. No Spanish vessel had come near enough to the shore of England to land a man upon the island. The Invincible Armada was beaten upon the sea, and now the only question of the Spaniard was how to get away with its shattered remnants. The Spanish commander hoped to escape by sailing northward, but the English war-ships followed upon his path, weakening his forces day by day. When the English vessels at length desisted from the pursuit, there came on one of those furious storms of wind, such as are not uncommon in these northern seas, and many of the

<sup>88</sup> "The next day the *English* descryed the *Spanish* Fleet with lofty towers castle-like, in front like a halfe moone, the hornes stretching forth about the breadth of seven miles, sayling as it were with labour of the windes and groining of the Ocean, slowly though

with full sayles; and willingly they suffer it to passe by, that they might chace, them in the reere with a fore-right winde." *The History of the Reign of Elizabeth, Queen of England*, by William Camden, 3d edition, London, 1685, p. 366.

the Spanish vessels were wrecked. It is said that only fifty-three out of the one hundred and thirty-four ships of war already named ever returned to their homes. It was in view of this fact, and as a recognition of the hand of God in bringing about this result, that the Queen caused a medal to be struck bearing the inscription, *Afflavit Deus et dissipantur*.

The events of this memorable year had greatly increased the popularity of Raleigh at the court, and among the English people generally. It seems to be conceded by many prominent historical writers, that no man in England at that time did more to give this fortunate direction to public affairs; and the Spaniard, as we shall see, nourished an undying hatred against him for the damage he had done to Spain, at this and at other times. The Queen conferred new honors and offices upon him to increase his revenues.

Edwards gives some facts and incidents connected with the closing scenes of this memorable English victory. He says: "Raleigh's ship was one of those which kept up the pursuit to the last, and saw the ending of what Sir Henry Wotton not inaptly called 'the morris dance on the waves.' . . . For many years afterwards, wrecks of the Spanish galleons were still visible on the British and Irish coasts, and attracted the wondering attention of foreign visitors. On the coast of Ireland alone, seventeen ships and more than five thousand men perished. Many more were driven in a fearful tempest on to the coasts of Norway and the neighboring islands."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> *Life of Raleigh*, by Edward Edwards, 1868, pp. 112, 113.

Not long after, however, events occurred to disturb the relations of Raleigh at the court. There seems to have been some quarrel between him and Essex, in which the Queen sided with the latter. A letter written by Sir Francis Allen to Anthony Bacon, and quoted by Edwards, says: "My Lord of Essex hath chased Mr. Raleigh from the Court, and hath confined him into Ireland." This was in August, 1589, a year after the defeat of the Spaniards.

It is clear enough that in some part of the year 1589 Raleigh was at his estates in Ireland, and was living in the most delightful intercourse with his chosen friend Spenser. That was the period of their greatest intimacy. Whether he stayed in Ireland as a man banished from the Court, or whether he was there of his own choice to cultivate his estates and share the society of the poet, is not sufficiently apparent.

If Raleigh was out of favor with the Queen, the coolness at this time was of short duration. He was soon back again at the Court, and Elizabeth treated him with a friendship which seemed sometimes dangerously near to womanly love.

In 1590, Essex ventured to contract a secret marriage with Frances Walsingham, a daughter of one of the prominent noblemen of the English Court, and a great friend of the Queen. In matters of this sort, Elizabeth showed a temper mean, little, vindictive. She wished to keep her young and attractive courtiers as perpetual playthings for herself; and that any one of them should have the feeling of a lover toward any other woman filled her with jealousy and an insensate rage. The reason why Essex's marriage was  
secret

secret was, doubtless, because he could not bear to infuriate the Queen, whose weaknesses in these matters he well understood.

Two years later Raleigh roused a still hotter indignation against himself by his secret marriage with Elizabeth Throgmorton, daughter of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and one of the Queen's maids of honor. There was, in the nature of things, no reason why such a marriage should not take place. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who died in 1571, had been a distinguished nobleman, and very serviceable to the Queen, and Raleigh had been knighted, and was in honor at the Court. There was nothing in the way of such a marriage but this silly weakness and littleness of the Queen. Raleigh found in the woman whom he had secretly wedded a true and faithful wife even unto death. Had the way been free for an open and honorable courtship, we may believe that Raleigh's marriage would have been without that touch of seeming dishonor which was attached to it. Oldys, when he wrote his *Life of Raleigh*, had seen a picture of his wife. He says: "It represents her a fair handsome woman, turned perhaps of thirty. She has on a dark-coloured hanging sleeve robe, tufted on the arms, and under it a close bodied gown of white satin, flowered with black, with close sleeves down to her wrist. She has a rich ruby in her ear bedropped with large pearls; a laced whisk rising above her shoulders; a bosom uncovered, and a jewel hanging thereon, with a large chain of pearl round her neck, down to her waist." <sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> *Works of Raleigh*, Oxford, 1829, Vol. I. p. 353.

For this marriage Raleigh was thrown into prison to appease the wrath of the Queen. This subject is introduced by Spenser in one of the cantos of the "Faery Queen," where Raleigh appears under the name of Timias, his wife under the name of Amoret, and the Queen, in her wrath, figures as Belphebe.

We must, however, group together, and pass rapidly over, the events of these years, though they were busy and eventful ones in Raleigh's life. In the year 1591 he was actively employed with Lord Thomas Howard in mustering a large naval force to make an attack on the fleets of Spain. Raleigh expected to be in joint command with Howard in this expedition, but was for some reason withdrawn, and was occupied with his Stannaries in Cornwall and in watching the coast. This naval adventure proved an unfortunate one, and Sir Richard Grenville, who had commanded Raleigh's ships in one of the voyages to America, lost his life after terrific fighting against a vastly superior naval force of the Spaniards.

Raleigh's first appearance as an author was connected with this expedition. His publication was entitled, *Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of the Azores*.

In 1592 he was still more largely interested in a naval scheme for capturing Spanish prizes. He embarrassed himself financially by the largeness of his expenditures in helping to fit out vessels for this purpose, while the Queen, who was thoroughly interested in the plan, revealed a trait of her character by niggardly contributions, while she left the heavy burdens on the shoulders of her subjects. The expedition was successful in capturing a Spanish vessel with im-  
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menſe treaſures on board, conſiſting largely of diamonds, which were ſtolen and made away with by the ſailors. Moreover, it was on the return from this expedition that Raleigh encountered the wrath of the Queen for his love affair with Elizabeth Throgmorton, of which we have already made mention, and was thrown into priſon. For theſe reaſons, he failed to receive any due proportion of the prize-money in return for his large expenditures.

Some of Raleigh's biographers are free to ſuggeſt that he obtained his releaſe from priſon, after a very brief ſtay, by playing adroitly upon the known weakneſſes and vanities of the Queen. She, as we have ſeen, was ready to devour the moſt high-flown compliments and flatteries, and Raleigh feigned that his heart was breaking and his ſoul was dying within him becauſe his eyes could no longer behold the Queen in her beauty. He wrote a letter to Cecil to this effect, which he doubtleſs expected would reach the eyes or the ears of the Queen.

Says Tytler: "This elegant piece of extravagance had the deſired effect. She who was ridiculoſly deſcribed as uniting in her own matchleſs perſon the horſemanſhip of Alexander, the chaſtity of Diana, the graceful motion of the goddeſs of beauty, and the bloom of a tender nymph, with her golden treſſes wantoning in the amorous wind, was now treading on the borders of fixty; yet the cup of flattery was neither too full nor too luſcious for the palate of the Queen, and the eloquent grief of Raleigh was rewarded by his enlargement."<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> *Life of Raleigh*, by Edward Edwards, 1868, p. 134.



It should be added, however, that still another motive seems to have helped to his speedy enlargement. An effort was on foot to recover those prize treasures which had been purloined by the sailors, and no other man, it was thought, could have so much influence in that attempt as Raleigh. Whether it were the one motive or the other, or both conjoined, it is clear that Raleigh's imprisonment in the year 1592 was brief. Amid the great variety of cares and multiplicity of interests engaging Raleigh's attention, it must not be forgotten that he was a member of the English Parliament for a large part of the time from 1585 to the death of Elizabeth in 1603. In the first-named year he was returned from his native county of Devon. In filling this office, he was doing what his Devonshire ancestors had done from time to time, for many generations.

The same wonderful versatility marked his course in Parliament as in his other enterprises and activities. He soon became an authority on parliamentary usage, besides showing great skill and power as a debater upon the current questions of the times. Edwards says of his ability as a public speaker: "Alike in clearness and closeness of argument, and in cool discriminating judgment amid the very heat and impetus of debate, Raleigh is conspicuous. In the former respect, his speeches stand in striking contrast with those of Robert Cecil. In the latter he will sometimes be found to have surpassed even the majestic intellect of Bacon."<sup>42</sup> On the same page with the above quotation Edwards gives an illustration, which is not only interesting in itself, but especially

<sup>42</sup> *Life of Raleigh*, by Edward Edwards, 1868, p. 271.

cially interesting to New Englanders. The Pilgrims, who came to Plymouth in 1620, were known in England as Brownists. They had come out from the Church of England. In the passage which we are about to quote, it is worthy of notice how numerous these people had become in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign. The question was up in Parliament how to get rid of these pestilent Brownists. It would not have been wise for Raleigh to take up their defence in direct terms, as the whole Parliament would have been in violent opposition. But he could put in a plea indirectly in their behalf, and he was apt, in all his public life, to incline toward lenity and charity, rather than tyranny. His argument ran thus: "In my conceit the Brownists are worthy to be voted out of a Commonwealth. But what danger may grow to ourselves, if this law passes, were fit to be considered. It is to be feared that men not guilty will be included in it. The law is hard that taketh the life, or sendeth into banishment where men's intentions shall be judged by a jury, and they shall be judges what another man meant. But that law that is against a fact is just. Punish the fact as severely as you will. If two or three thousand Brownists meet at the sea-side at whose charge shall they be transported? Or whither will you send them? I am sorry for it, but I am afraid there is near twenty thousand of them in England. When they are gone, who shall maintain their wives and children?"<sup>48</sup>

This speech was delivered on the 4th of April, 1593, nine years before the little Brownist Church was organized in Elder

<sup>48</sup> *Life of Raleigh*, by Edward Edwards, 1868, pp. 271, 272.

Elder Brewster's house in Scrooby. In 1608, when this Pilgrim church, driven out of England, took refuge in Holland, Elizabeth was dead. James I. was on the throne, and Sir Walter Raleigh was in prison. But it is instructive to notice that Raleigh thought there might be near twenty thousand Brownists in England before the end of the reign of Elizabeth.

We have said that, at the first, Raleigh was a Member of Parliament from Devonshire. Near the close of Elizabeth's life he was chosen to the same office from the county of Cornwall. With age and experience, he naturally came to take a more prominent part in debates, so that in the closing years of his public life, from 1596 to 1603, he mingled largely in governmental discussions. For about eighteen years he was in the English Parliament. So busy was his life in other respects, that, in our ordinary estimates, we hardly think of him as a Parliament man at all. Yet he was a conspicuous member for a longer course of years than men usually serve in this capacity.

As early as 1592 or 1593 Raleigh began to lay his plans for another voyage of discovery. His colonial enterprises had been attended with many sad drawbacks and disappointments, and yet seed had been sown which he would see ripen into fruit before his death. But now his thoughts were turned in another direction. His newly married wife, who was quick to study the action of his mind, drew back with dread from the thought of the long absence which such an expedition would cause, and the many perils to which he would be exposed. There is a letter of Lady Raleigh, quoted by Edwards, written to Cecil in the early part of the  
year

year 1593, in which her fears and anxieties are beautifully and touchingly expressed. The following sentences are from this letter: "Now, Sir, for the rest, I hope, for my sake you will rather draw water from the East, than help him forwards towards the Sunset; if any respect to me, or love to him be not forgotten. But every month hath its flower, and every season its content; and you great councillors are so full of new counsels, that you are steady at nothing. We poor souls, that have bought sorrow at a high price, desire and can be pleased with the same misfortunes we hold; fearing alterations will but multiply miseries. I know only your persuasions are of effect with him, and held as oracles tied together by love. Therefore, I humbly beseech you, rather stay than further him."<sup>44</sup>

Milton calls fame "that last infirmity of noble mind," and doubtless Raleigh in his day, as so many aspiring men before and since, would have been ready to try and quiet his wife's mind with the thought that "men must work and women must weep." At least, he was not turned aside from his plans by Lady Raleigh's tender and womanly pleadings.

It was not, however, until two years later that the projected expedition was matured. Meanwhile, in this respite he seems to have passed a period of more tranquil enjoyment than at almost any other time in his life. The wrath of the Queen had passed over with the violence and rapidity of a summer thunder-gust. He was at this time making his residence on his estate at Sherborne in Dorsetshire, where he gave himself with enthusiasm to rural pursuits. Here he planned  
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<sup>44</sup> *Life of Raleigh*, by Edward Edwards, 1868, p. 160.

and superintended the construction of a garden, in which, with his wife, he took a calm and solid delight. The charms of Nature never fail, and he who dwells in her society, apart from the noisy tumults of the crowd, has a comfort and a solace which no artifice of man can give. No doubt Lady Raleigh used all her arguments to hold him within this peaceful retreat. But as the sailor, when tossed day and night by wild ocean storms, thinks if he can once more reach his native land and the homes of his kindred he will there securely dwell, yet soon tires of the dullness of his country life and longs to be at sea again ; so Raleigh, who had shared the dangers of battle and the excitements of an intensely active life, could not bear to be long penned up in his beautiful garden at Sherborne.

The expedition undertaken by him for the exploration of the empire of Guiana in South America had much to do with all the remaining portion of his life. The world at that time was full of dreams and visions. The success of the Spaniards in finding gold at many places in the New World had spread abroad the wildest expectations of wealth. The public opinion of that day had fixed upon Guiana, an immense empire in the northern part of South America, as the *El Dorado*, where they hoped to find the fabled land of gold. This country at that time stretched from ocean to ocean, some twelve hundred miles, and reached from the river Orinoco on the north to the Amazon on the south, about six hundred miles. What was just spoken of as public opinion might as well have been called public fancy. All that was then known about this vast territory had come from the Spaniards, and, when traced back, this was not  
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real knowledge, but mainly conjecture. However, Raleigh was eagerly bent upon being the first public explorer of this land of gold, and securing its untold treasures to his own beloved England.

In the year 1594 he sent out Capt. Jacob Whiddon, as a kind of *avant courier*, to gain some acquaintance with the mouth of the river Orinoco, and make such further explorations as might be serviceable to the larger expedition soon to follow.

On the 9th of February, 1595, Sir Walter with five ships, and smaller craft for river navigation, set sail from Plymouth, and arrived at Trinidad in the West Indies near the end of March. There were one hundred persons in the company, besides the sailors. The Queen and some of the nobility of England had invested generously in this expedition. Great hopes and expectations centred about it. But in this, as in many of the lesser affairs of life, the reality was altogether different from the dream. When they arrived at the Orinoco, instead of golden stores open to the eye and hand, vast reaches were to be traversed, through towering forests on either side, standing like inaccessible walls, and presenting, day after day, the most wearying uniformity. On the main channel of the river they were borne upward by the flood tides, which, from the level character of the country, set far inland. They halted at the ebb, and waited the return of the tide. But when, leaving the main river, they attempted to ascend some of the tributaries, the tide did not help them, and it was hard labor under a burning sun. The conditions of their life were very uncomfortable, and there was almost nothing, day by day, to break the dreadful monotony.

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To give some idea of the possible extent of this journey, it is estimated that the Orinoco, in its main line, reaches eleven hundred and twenty geographical miles, and receives into its channel during its progress four hundred and thirty-six rivers and some two thousand smaller streams. To enter upon such an exploration, without knowing whether the coveted treasures were in this place or that, is little better than undertaking an endless and hopeless task.

The fleet was forced to turn homewards; and reached England in August, after an absence of six months. It carried home some choice specimens of golden ore; but it was charged by Raleigh's enemies that these had been purchased in the open market in the West Indies. In many respects Raleigh was so slandered and belied that he published, before the end of the year 1595, his *Discoverie of Guiana*. In it occurs this graphic bit of description: "Guiana is a country that hath yet her maidenhead. Neuer sacked turned nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not been torn, nor the virtue of the soil spent by manurance. The graues have not been opened for gold; the mines not broken with sledges; nor their images pulled down out of their temples. It hath neuer been entered by an army of strength; neuer conquered or possessed by any Christian prince."<sup>45</sup>

This exploration of Guiana was followed up with one or two smaller attempts under Raleigh's direction. A larger plan was proposed for the year 1598, which fell through; so that nothing more was really done by him in this behalf until in 1617, the year before his death, when he was set free

<sup>45</sup> From *Discoverie of Guiana*, quoted in *Life of Raleigh*, by Edward Edwards, 1860, p. 200.

free from prison, once more to try his fortunes in the attempt to discover the golden treasures of that far-off land.

It will be remembered that Raleigh was called off from his work of colonization in North America by the threatened Spanish invasion. At no time in all his past life had his public services been of such grand importance as in helping to repel and destroy that vaunted Armada of 1588. As has been already stated, no Englishman can claim precedence of Raleigh, either by counsels or acts, in that summary destruction of England's enemies.

In like manner, Raleigh was called off from his South American enterprises, to take a foremost part in another scheme for punishing his old enemies the Spaniards. In the month of June, 1596, there sailed out of Plymouth harbor a fleet of one hundred and fifty vessels of war, of which twenty-two were furnished by the Dutch, and manned by them to the number of ten thousand men or more. The rest were English vessels, seventeen of them of the first class and the rest of various sizes. The English fleet carried fourteen thousand men, including one thousand gentlemen who volunteered for this service. The fleet sailed directly for Cadiz, and arrived within a short distance of the city before the Spaniards had taken any alarm or knew what was going forward. The blow was to be delivered without any delay; but in the first plan of attack bad counsels were on the point of prevailing, when Raleigh hastened to the rescue, and the plan of battle as arranged by him was accepted by the other commanders. The first plan was for landing a large body of men to make the attack on the shore. But now, as in 1588, Raleigh earnestly protested against this form of warfare, and insisted



insisted that the battle should be given directly from the ships upon the Spanish ships of war which were guarding the harbor of Cadiz. His counsels prevailed; and it is claimed that Spain received heavier damage from this attack than from the destruction of her Invincible Armada, six years before. There was hard fighting and great losses of men and property on both sides. But when the moment of real victory was reached, the Spaniards poured themselves out of their sinking and burning ships in multitudes into the sea. The destruction of the Spanish vessels was so great that only two of the large ships were saved as prizes of war.

Raleigh has given us a picture of this fight, which may serve to show that the horrors of ancient warfare were greater than those of the present day. The combatants came much nearer together, and there was kindled more of the wrath of personal antagonism. He says: "The spectacle was very lamentable on their side; many drowned themselves, many, half-burnt, leaped into the water, many were seen hanging to the ships' sides by the ropes' ends, up to the lips in the water, and many swimming with grievous wounds, stricken under water, and suddenly put out of pain, and withal so huge a fire and such tearing of the ordnance in the great *Philip* and the rest, when the fire came to them, as if any man had a desire to see hell itself it was there most lively figured. We ourselves spared the lives of all after the victory; but the Flemmings, who did little or nothing in the fight, used merciless slaughter, till they were beaten off by myself and afterwards by the lord admiral."<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> *Raleigh's Works*, Oxford, 1829, Vol. VIII. p. 672.

It is not surprising that Raleigh incurred the hatred of the Spanish Court. No man had inflicted greater damage on Spain. For twenty years he had been known as one of her distinguished and successful enemies. It was but natural that she should harbor against him a spirit of revenge which, as we shall see in the sequel, was to be meanly and disgracefully gratified.

There was a bitter strife between Cecil and Essex, which Raleigh undertook to heal, and, to the surprise of all, at length succeeded. This service restored him to the Court. Soon afterwards, as it was known that Philip II. of Spain was making warlike preparations against England, in hope to repair the great losses of the year before, it was resolved to fit out another large fleet to thwart his designs. This was placed under the command of Essex, who relied much upon the experience of Raleigh, and called him to aid with his counsels. Into the details of this long and bitter strife between England and Spain we need not enter. Suffice it to say there were misadventures and losses on both sides, and no great gain could be claimed by either party.

On Raleigh's return from this expedition he retired to his estate in Sherborne, and gave himself to literature and the society of his friends. We have reached the year 1598. Raleigh, still making his home at Sherborne, often visited the Court, "where," says Tytler, "he distinguished himself by the splendor of his apparel, and vied in his taste for magnificence with the greatest lords, and even with the favorite Essex." <sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> *Life of Raleigh*, by Patrick Fraser Tytler, Edinburgh, 1833, p. 199.

The Queen, beginning to feel the infirmities of age, did not hold the reins with so firm a hand as in former years. Ireland was again in rebellion. The Court itself was filled with ambitious men. The Earl of Ormond had been recalled from its government, and a heated and bitter controversy arose as to who should succeed him. There were unseemly quarrels among the courtiers over this subject, but at length Essex was appointed to the place. Tytler suggests that his appointment was intended on the part of his fellow-courtiers to work his ruin.<sup>48</sup> He had just before been in disgrace for a personal insult offered to the Queen, in a moment of anger. But now he seemed to be forgiven, and raised to a position of honor and trust.

We cannot here attempt to trace the various turns of fortune by which Essex was driven on from step to step, until the wrath of the Queen was again kindled against him. He was condemned to death, and executed in 1600, at the age of thirty-four. Raleigh and Cecil, who had the ear of the Queen during these troubles, do not seem to have acted a part altogether honorable. Essex was made to seem disobedient to orders, and almost treasonable in some things he did, in his government of Ireland.

The position of a courtier, especially in a court like that of Elizabeth, is exceedingly trying to personal honor. The most important offices and honors are often determined by favor and not by merit, and the temptation to undermine, thwart, and circumvent is often dangerously strong. If Raleigh and Cecil took a personal satisfaction in the downfall of Essex,

<sup>48</sup> *Life of Raleigh*, by Patrick Fraser Tytler, Edinburgh, 1833, p. 203.

Effex, it was not long before the former was to have the same bitter cup presented to his own lips, and he was made to drink thereof to its dregs. If Cecil had learned to play falsely toward Effex, he was ready to do the same thing toward Raleigh. Tytler says: "From the moment, therefore, of Effex's death, however open and amicable the world might think them, there was a dangerous opposition between Raleigh and Cecil. Both were too powerful to continue long together in the management of affairs, both too proud to give way; their intercourse had by circumstances been driven into confidence before it had ripened into friendship; they knew too well each other's character and designs, and had arrived at that critical point in the intimacy of statesmen when it becomes necessary for one to sacrifice his ambition to the other."<sup>49</sup>

It is pleasant to turn from these secret rivalries and false shows of friendship at the Court to the quiet of Raleigh's country home at Sherborne. "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," and, we may add, uneasy lies the head of him who is near the crown. Yet, in every generation the places next the throne are eagerly sought as the highest and fairest prizes of human life. But Raleigh had now played the courtier long enough to enjoy, by way of contrast, his rural retreat in Dorsetshire, where he might hold converse with nature and the muses. Here, amid the flowers of his garden and the music of the birds, his æsthetic nature was awakened into song. The *belles-lettres* spirit, which was native and strong within him, found exercise and play.

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<sup>49</sup> *Life of Raleigh*, by Patrick Fraser Tytler, Edinburgh, 1833, p. 223.

Passing over the years of his home at Sherborne and those of his first successor, we come down to a comparatively modern period, in which we look back upon the glories of this old country-seat. "Happily," says Edwards, "Sir Walter's successors have respected a fine old stone seat, in a charming grove close to the house. Both seat and grove bear his name; and the stone-work vouches its genuineness, as much by its obvious age and character, as by long tradition. The body of the existing house is Raleigh's. The wings have been added. But the real tokens of his preference at Sherborne must be sought in the plantations, gardens and orchards, in the waving woods and in the gleaming lake. Very much has been done since his time to enhance these beauties; and in such a park as Sherborne, where changes of roads and clumps, of wood and water, are known to have been frequent, it is hard to fancy what aspect the place must have worn almost three hundred years ago. The written records of Sir Walter's persistent labours as a planter are numerous. The visitor, as he roams about the grounds and park, will see many noble beeches, lime-trees and sycamores. But only a very few of them can lay valid claim to be of the Elizabethan age. Of those few, some, he may be sure, were planted by the hand of Raleigh. If it be permitted him to indulge in the dreamy luxury of reposing a while upon the greenward, which comes close up to the house on two of its sides, he will have groves on the one hand, of the exceeding beauty of which a large part was planted by Raleigh, and on the other, he will have a lake which owes something to the same taste. . . . Standing at the edge of those hanging woods, he will be able to enter a  
little

little into the feelings with which the owner and adorer, during nearly twenty years, of a large breadth of the surrounding landscape, gave to his possession, and to the darling hope, that, in spite of Fortune, he might yet, perhaps, hand it down to his offspring."<sup>60</sup>

Raleigh continued to hold honors, offices, and prerogatives until the death of the Queen, which occurred on the 24th of March, 1603.<sup>61</sup> Meanwhile, for two or three years before the Queen's death, England was full of rumors and suspicions touching the succession. It was almost impossible that any man prominent in the public councils should not have his name mixed up with these conflicting schemes. The Catholic party in England was strong, and was determined to use the occasion for the strengthening of its interest.

According to the strict laws of succession, there could be no doubt that, on the death of Elizabeth, James VI. of Scotland, son of Mary, Queen of Scots, should succeed. But England aforetime had had long and bloody wars on this question of the succession, by reason of other than the regular claimants for the throne; and so it might happen in this case.

Tytler gives us the following bold picture of what was passing inside the palace on the day before Queen Elizabeth died: —

“She

<sup>60</sup> *Life of Raleigh*, by Edward Edwards, 1868, pp. 478, 479.

<sup>61</sup> The death of Elizabeth, according to the English custom, at that time, of beginning the year, was on the last day

of the year 1602. The year began then in England March 25. Historians, however, generally state the time of her death in accordance with our present system of reckoning, as March 24, 1603.

"She soon became obstinately silent; and not only rejected nourishment, but forbore her sleep, refusing to go to bed, being persuaded if she once lay down she should never rise again. The cushions were laid on the floor of her chamber; and there she sat a week, day and night, showing an utter carelessness of all that was passing around her. On the 23rd of March, the day before she died, the chief members of her council thought it right to introduce that subject to which the Queen had invariably shown a great aversion, the succession to the throne; and their interrogations brought out from the expiring princess a flash of her wonted spirit and severity: 'I told you,' said she, to the lord-high-admiral, who occupied the right side of the bed, whilst Cecil stood at the foot, 'that my seat had been the seat of kings; and I will have no rascal to succeed! Trouble me no more. He who comes after me must be a king. I will have none but our cousin of Scotland.'"<sup>62</sup>

Seeing that Elizabeth had caused the mother of "our cousin of Scotland" to be put to death, we must admit that she remained faithful to the hereditary principle in giving her dying testimony in favor of her son James as her successor.

The news of the Queen's death was carried to James in Scotland as speedily as it could well be conveyed, and, with no long delay, the king set out with his retinue for England. Bred in Scotland, where the principles of the Reformation had become thoroughly rooted, it was naturally expected that the new sovereign would bring with him an influence firmly

<sup>62</sup> *Life of Raleigh*, by Patrick Fraser Tytler, Edinburgh, 1833, p. 251.

firmly and decidedly Protestant. The Puritans even expected to find in him a friend and helper. He left Scotland with an avowed dislike to Raleigh. Tytler says: "It would perhaps have been better for Raleigh had he accommodated himself to the character of the new sovereign; though even this prudence might have failed; for the king's mind had been artfully prejudiced against him. His fortunes now experienced a reverse; and that royal sunshine which he had enjoyed under Elizabeth was exchanged, even at the very commencement of the reign of her successor, for coldness, suspicion and neglect."<sup>53</sup>

Elizabeth, with all her faults and follies, had something in her nature which made her a strong centre of attraction for those who lived about her Court. But James I. was, by nature and practice, of a different order. Raleigh, with his keen and quick perceptions, his fine literary tastes and generous judgments, could have found little sympathy with such a man as James. "And yet," says Tytler, "if Raleigh had paid his court with the usual servility this discrepancy might have been concealed. But he refused to imitate the flattery with which others fed the vanity of their new sovereign and was too open not to declare his real opinion."<sup>54</sup>

Before James left Scotland, and while Elizabeth was drawing near her end, letters had been sent to him by Cecil<sup>55</sup> and

<sup>53</sup> *Life of Raleigh*, by Patrick Fraser Tytler, Edinburgh, 1833, p. 253.

<sup>54</sup> *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by Patrick Fraser Tytler, Esq., Edinburgh, 1833, p. 255.

<sup>55</sup> Goldsmith, after speaking of the crafty manner in which Cecil, Earl of

Salisbury, secured the favor of James I., at the beginning of his reign, says:

"But it was not so fortunate with Lord Grey, Lord Cobham, and Sir Walter Raleigh, who had been Cecil's associates. They felt immediately the effects of the king's displeasure, and were



and others, artfully working upon his mind, and filling him with bitter prejudices against Raleigh. While the King was on his journey to England, Raleigh, as one of the leading ministers of Elizabeth, met him at Burghley. The King received him coldly, made some half-way promises for the future, and dismissed him as soon as he conveniently could. After the King reached England, Raleigh remained about the Court, not having been actually thrust away, yet holding a doubtful and uncertain position. It was not far from the middle of July, 1603, when the King had been some three or four months on the throne, that Raleigh was walking upon the terrace at Windsor, waiting to attend the King upon a hunting excursion. Lord Cecil came to him with an errand from the King, bidding him stay at home, and present himself before the Lords in the Council Chamber, who wished to ask him some important questions. This was the opening of that plot by which Raleigh was to be removed from all places of honor and power, and held as a criminal during the remaining years of his life.

Edwards

were dismissed from their employments. These three seemed to be marked out for peculiar indignation; for soon after they were accused of entering into a conspiracy against the king; neither the proofs of which, nor its aims have reached posterity; all that is certain is that they were condemned to die, but had their sentence mitigated by the king. Cobham and Grey were pardoned after they had laid their heads on the block. Raleigh was reprieved, but remained in confinement many years afterwards, and at last suffered for this offence, which was never proved." *History of England*, London, 1794, Vol. I. p. 489.

The following is what often happens when a new ruler rises into power:—

"But when the rumour had growne rife, that her sicknesse increased and that as shee had done alwayes before in the prime of her age so now most of all shee refused all help of Physicke; it is incredible with what flying speed, Puritans, Papiſts, and ambitious persons of all sorts, flatterers, and others, every of them forward for their owne hopes, poaſted night and day, by ſea and land into Scotland, to adore the riſing King, and gaine his favour." *The History of Elizabeth, Queen of England*, by William Camden, 3d edition, London, 1685, p. 585.

Edwards has given us the following lively picture of the scene: "That morning walk along the Terrace at Windfor must needs have dwelt in Raleigh's memory. The panoramic scene which opens out beneath was at the moment clad in all the glory of summer. Busy as his mind may well have been with things bygone, and with perils impending, that last view of a familiar landscape cannot but have left its imprint on a mind very open to such influences, and able to translate them into glowing words. Near the spot which Raleigh was then pacing stood the new buildings of Queen Elizabeth; yet in all their freshness, labelled with her cypher, and with a date, 1583, which marked the spring time of his favour with his royal mistress, as well as the year of his first visit to Windfor Castle. Twenty other years had now well-nigh past. In their course, severe toils, long voyages, great enterprises, and sharp afflictions had been diversified, at not unfrequent intervals, by the amusements and pageantries, the splendid games and the petty vexations of a courtier's life, at a Court which was then the most magnificent in Europe. The pacing to and fro on Windfor Terrace in July 1603, whilst waiting for the King to mount, was Raleigh's final act of courtiership."<sup>66</sup>

For a brief period Raleigh was a kind of prisoner in his own house. In a few weeks he was committed to the Tower, and his enemies were gathering and arranging the evidence against him. It was charged that he had conspired with others "to deprive the King of his crown and dignity; to subvert the government and alter the true religion established

<sup>66</sup> *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by Edward Edwards, 1868, p. 367.

lished in England, and to levy war against the King." It was charged that he had held conferences with Lord Cobham and others "concerning the means of exciting rebellion against the King, and raising one Arbella Stewart to the crown of England." It was planned that the trial should come on in September, but it was deferred until November.

It became evident, however, long before the trial took place that the result was a foregone conclusion. Raleigh was virtually condemned and brought in guilty before he was taken into the presence of his judges. The offices which he had held were taken away from him, as though he had no more use for them. A king can easily find pliant tools to work his will, and the insults which Raleigh endured, while passing through this mockery of a trial, were enough to rouse a modern freeman to a frenzy of indignation. Sir Edward Coke was the Attorney-General, and conducted the case; and, under cover of the protection of his master, he felt at liberty, while the trial was in progress, to load the prisoner with the most insulting names and epithets, such as: "I will prove you to be the most notorious traitor that ever came to the bar." "Thou art a monster; thou hast an English face, but a Spanish heart." "Thou viper; for I *thou* thee, thou traitor! I will prove thee the rankest traitor in all England." "You fought but to cloak a Spanish traitor's heart." "Thou hast a Spanish heart, and thyself art a spider of hell." "O damnable atheist!" Such language as this was allowed in what was called a court of justice, in the times of James I., by a man who gave not the slightest evidence of trying to find the truth, but only to do the work of a tyrant.

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There were, however, men bold enough, while all this was going on, to remind the King of certain obligations resting upon him for favors indirectly received by him in the past. In the "Calendar of State Papers" is preserved a passage from a letter of Thomas Morgan to the King, and which is as follows: "Sir Walter Raleigh's wife was the daughter of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who was a protestant, but yet in his time did very grateful service in England to you and your mother; which should lead you to have compassion upon her in case he suffers death and his lands and goods be confiscated to your service."<sup>57</sup>

But James had not a nature which could be made to respond to any sentimental appeals of this kind. Of course Raleigh was found guilty. To prove him guilty, without reference to what the evidence might be, was what James and his minions set out to do, and they effected their purpose. Tytler says: "The Chief Justice now pronounced the sentence of death; and when, according to the form in cases of treason, he detailed with horrible minuteness the manner of execution, Sir Walter requested the lords-commissioners to entreat the King, in consideration of the honourable places he had held, that the extreme rigour of his sentence might be qualified, that his death should not be ignominious. The court then broke up, and Raleigh accompanied the sheriff to the prison; all being struck with his noble demeanour, which it was observed became a man conscious of innocence, and yet not insensible to his situation as being condemned by the laws of his country."<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1580-1625, September 28, 1603, p. 430.

<sup>58</sup> *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by Patrick Fraser Tytler, Esq., Edinburgh, 1833, pp. 283, 284.

That the Secretary Cecil was deeply in this plot against Raleigh's life there can be little doubt. Pretending through all the trial to be his friend, his words and acts show that he was secretly and cunningly working to destroy him. Ten generations of Englishmen have lived since Raleigh's trial and condemnation, and have reviewed the case. The verdict they give is almost unanimous, that he was innocent of the crime charged against him, and that his condemnation and death were simply judicial murder.

After the trial was ended, Raleigh lived in daily expectation of death. The King fixed the time of the execution of Cobham, Grey, and Markham, Raleigh's fellow-prisoners, on a certain Friday, while Raleigh was to be put to death on the following Monday. When the appointed Friday came, Markham was first selected for execution, and, when he was preparing to lay his head on the block, a messenger came with an order from the King to stay the execution. The same farce was perpetrated on Grey and Cobham, each being taken separately. The object of James, by this piece of trickery, was perhaps to draw out from these men, in the immediate prospect of death, some further evidence against Raleigh. In this he failed, the case standing just as it did before. Raleigh was then ordered to make himself ready for execution, and in the few hours which he supposed were all that remained to him he wrote a beautiful and touching letter to his wife, from which we select a few sentences : —

“ To what friend to direct thee I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of trial ; and I plainly perceive that my death was determined from the first day.

Most

Most sorry I am, God knows, that being thus surpris'd with death, I can leave you in no better estate.

"When I am gone no doubt you shall be sought to by many, for the world thinks that I was very rich. But take heed of the pretences of men, and their affections; for they last not but in honest and worthy men, and no greater misery can befall you in this life, than to become a prey, and afterwards to be despis'd. I speak not this, God knows, to dissuade you from marriage; for it will be best for you, both in respect of the world and of God. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine. Death has cut us asunder, and God hath divided me from the world and from you. Remember your poor child for his father's sake, who chose you and loved you in his happiest time.

"Beg my dead body, which living was denied thee, and either lay it at Sherborne, if the land continue, or in Exeter church, by my father and mother. I can say no more, time and death call me away.

"The everlasting, powerful, infinite, and omnipotent God, who is goodness itself, the true life and true light, keep thee and thine, have mercy on me and teach me to forgive my persecutors and accusers, and send us to meet in his glorious kingdom. My dear wife, farewell! Bless my poor boy!"<sup>80</sup>

Very soon after this letter was written Raleigh also received a reprieve, in the same manner as had his three fellow-prisoners. Since his trial he had been confined at Winchester, but after his reprieve he was removed to the Tower. It was on the 15th of December, 1603, that this reprieve reached him.

By

<sup>80</sup> *Works of Raleigh*, Oxford, 1829, Vol. VIII. pp. 648-650.

By this sudden turn of affairs, instead of the scaffold and the grave, there opened out before his eyes those long and quiet years of scholarship and study which he had never yet been permitted to enjoy. These hours of study were interrupted, it is true, by sharp pangs of grief and disappointment, as he saw his honors taken away, and his estates, one by one, confiscated, and made over to the unscrupulous favorites of the King. But after a time this agony was ended, only as it lingered in memory, and he settled down to quiet work among his books and his chemical instruments.

Raleigh was, by natural and acquired taste, a scholar. He dearly loved his books. His life, however, had hitherto been so active, that it was only by snatches of time that he had been permitted to dwell among them. The following is from the Aubrey Manuscripts, describing Raleigh's habits as a student: "Sir Walter R. was a great Chymist and among some manuscript receipts, I have seen some secrets from him. He studyed most in his sea-voyages, where he carried always a trunke of bookes along with him, and had nothing to divert him. A person so much immerst in action all along, and in fabrication of his own fortunes (till his confinement in the Tower) could have but little time to study, but what he could spare in the morning. He was no slug; without doubt had a wonderfull waking spirit, and great judgment to guide it. Durham-house was a noble palace; after he came to his greatness he lived there or in some apartment of it. I well remember his study, w<sup>ch</sup> was on a little turret, that looked into and over the Thames, and had the prospect w<sup>ch</sup> is pleasant, perhaps, as any in the world,

world, and which not only refreshes the eyesight, but cheers the spirits."<sup>60</sup>

Raleigh's confinement in the Tower lasted from December 16, 1603, to March 20, 1616, about twelve years and three months; except that for a brief period he was transferred to the Fleet Prison, because of the supposed unhealthiness of the Tower, during the prevalence of the plague. None of Raleigh's biographers have been able to tell us exactly what were his privileges and limitations during his prison life. It is not probable that any man ever lived who could have written *The History of the World* without quick and easy access to many books of reference. The first volumes, it is true, draw authority mainly from the Bible. But the later volumes abound in quotations from the classical writers. It is quite certain that he must have been permitted to move his own library into the prison, if he did not have access to other and larger ones. A work like the *Pilgrim's Progress* needs almost no books of reference. With the Bible in hand, it could be evolved directly from the brain of genius. So with some other famous works that have been written in prison-dungeons and cells. But the *History of the World*, still standing as one of the grand and notable works of English literature, could not have been produced without a good working light, and without the aid of a wide variety of books. His tripping and airy love-songs were written chiefly in his more youthful and happy days. Some of his graver poems were doubtless written in prison.

<sup>60</sup> John Aubrey, an antiquarian, dying in 1700. The Aubrey MSS. are published in the Appendix to *Works of*

*Sir Walter Raleigh*, Oxford, 1829, Vol. VIII. This extract is from p. 739.



prison. There would have been little difficulty in composing and recording one of his poems without books and without much light. But large volumes of history are not so written. The books for reference must be numerous and near at hand. The larger part of all Sir Walter's published writings, in addition to his history, were written during these twelve years of prison life.

From such knowledge as we can gain of his condition and habits as a prisoner, it is evident that considerable liberty was allowed him, though the measure of this liberty was sometimes enlarged and sometimes abridged, according to the varying moods of the prison authorities. He had the privilege of wandering in a little garden. He was indulged in his desire to make chemical experiments at what was called his "still-house." He was permitted to receive visits from his wife, though she was not allowed to live in the prison as her home. Dr. Peter Turner, who was his physician in the Tower, on a certain occasion, as appears from the Doctor's official report, advised that Raleigh "ought in his opinion to be removed from the cold lodging, where he lay, into a warmer one; and suggested, as an improvement immediately practicable that he might be put into a little room which he hath built in the garden adjoining his still-house."<sup>61</sup>

It would appear from such details that the severities of his prison-life were tempered, to some extent, with mercies and kindnesses, and it is very certain that he could not have written such a work as his History without scholarly helps and facilities.

To

<sup>61</sup> *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by Edward Edwards, 1868, p. 491.

To a man like Raleigh this literary labor must have been a solace in his lonely hours. As months and years passed on, he must also have grown gradually into the habit of hoping for full liberty. Prince Henry, the eldest son of James I., did not share his father's prejudices, and, in the event of his succession, Raleigh would be quite sure of his enlargement. With the fear of the scaffold in a good measure removed, and with liberty to indulge his habits as a student, his condition, if not enjoyable, was not distressingly sad.

"Several books have been written expressly about the Tower of London. Some of them are large books, but they afford little help towards solving the not uninteresting questions, — In which, or in how many, of its famous old buildings did Raleigh live? Where was the *History of the World* written? All these Tower books contain copious digressions into the fields of general history, and also not a few digressions into the fields of fiction, more or less poetic, but not one of them supplies a true answer to either of these pertinent questions; or even to the minor query: Have any of the old business-books, or routine memoranda, which must needs have been used to facilitate the daily duties and responsibilities of the Tower wardens to their superior officers, come down to our time? The last published of these historical works about the Tower, far from giving help towards identifying Raleigh's twelve years abode, gravely asks its readers to believe, that a man who had still his household servants about him, who possessed and used a considerable library, and who saw many friends, lived in a cell ten feet by eight. They tell the inquirer that the *His-*  
*tory*

*tory of the World* was written by help of a gleam of borrowed light coming, through a deeply immured door, into a dungeon without a window."<sup>62</sup>

This is perhaps as fuitable a place as any for giving a brief outline view of Raleigh's writings in prose and verse. It is hardly needful to refer largely to his *History of the World*, as it has already come often into view. It fills six volumes in Oldys and Birch's edition, and the narrative extends from the Creation of the World to the Downfall of the Macedonian Empire, about one hundred and seventy years before Christ.

The eighth and last volume of Oldys and Birch's edition of the *Works of Sir Walter Raleigh* contains his miscellaneous prose writings and his poems.

The first of these is entitled "Maxims of State," and fills thirty-four pages.

The next has the following extended title: "The Cabinet-Council; containing the chief arts of empire and mysteries of state; discabined in political and polemical aphorisms, grounded on authority and experience and illustrated with the choicest examples and historical observations."

An interesting circumstance connected with the foregoing treatise is, that it was first published to the world by John Milton, accompanied with a note "To the Reader," as follows: —

"Having had the manuscript of this treatise, written by Sir Walter Raleigh, many years in my hands, and finding it lately by chance among other books and papers, upon reading

<sup>62</sup> *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by Edward Edwards, 1868, pp. 487, 488.

ing thereof I thought it a kind of injury to withhold longer the work of so eminent an author from the public: it being answerable in style to other works of his already extant, so far as the subject will permit, and given me for a true copy by a learned man at his death, who had collected several such pieces."

This treatise covers one hundred and thirteen pages, and abounds in thoughts such as could come only from a scholarly and observing mind, ripened by long and rich experience. Take the following as specimens: "Experience hath always proved that whatsoever the most part of men desire rarely cometh to pass: the reason hereof is, that the effects of human actions commonly depend on the will of a few, and their intentions ever differing from the greater, the end and success cannot be other than as pleaseth the few that are to direct them."<sup>63</sup> It may reasonably be doubted whether this remark holds as true in a democratic community and age, as under imperial rule.

"All histories do shew, and wise politicians do hold it necessary, that for the well-governing of every commonweal, it behoveth to presuppose that all men are evil, and will declare themselves so to be when occasion is offered."<sup>64</sup>

Next follows a Dialogue of some seventy pages "between a Counsellor of State and a Justice of the Peace" on the "Prerogative of Parliaments."

Then we have "A Discourse" of some twenty-five pages, touching a match propounded by the Savoyan between the lady Elizabeth and the prince of Piedmont.

"A

<sup>63</sup> *Raleigh's Works*, Oldys and Birch, Oxford, 1829, Vol. VIII. p. 116.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

"A Discourse on the original and fundamental cause of natural, arbitrary, necessary, and unnatural war" follows next, and fills about fifty pages.

Then comes "A Discourse" covering seventeen pages, "touching a war with Spain, and of the protecting of the Netherlands."

His next treatise, of seventeen pages, bears the following long and curious title: "A Discourse of the invention of ships, anchors, compasses &c. The first natural war, the several uses, defects, and supplies of shipping: the strength and defects of the sea-forces of England, France, Spain and Venice: together with the five manifest causes of the sudden appearing of the Hollanders."

Then we have a brief tract entitled "Observations concerning the royal naval and sea-service. Dedicated to the most noble and illustrious Prince Henry, Prince of Wales."

It will be noticed that several of the treatises already referred to were written during his long confinement in prison, and by his kind complimentary words towards James and his family he was evidently trying to turn away the King's wrath. Prince Henry was his real friend. But his efforts were of little avail, so far as James himself was concerned.

Following the last-named essay is one, filling nearly one hundred pages, entitled "A Voyage for the discovery of Guiana;" and this is followed by another shorter piece of about thirty pages, with the title, "Sir Walter Raleigh's Apology for his Voyage to Guiana."

He has furnished also a short tract, entitled "A Breviary  
of

of the History of England, beginning at the reign of William the First, entitled the Conqueror."

One of the very briefest of all his published works is little more than a leaflet, with the title, "On the seat of Government." Its opening paragraph is remarkable for its beauty and force, and is as follows:—

"They say, that the goodliest cedars which grow on the high mountains of Libanus thrust their roots between the cliffs of hard rocks, the better to bear themselves against the strong storms that blow there. As nature hath instructed these kings of trees, so hath reason taught the kings of men to root themselves in the hardy hearts of their faithful subjects. And as these kings of trees have large tops, so have the kings of men large crowns: whereof as the first would soon be broken from their bodies were they not underborne by many branches, so would the other easily totter were they not fastened on their heads with the strong chains of civil justice and martial discipline."<sup>66</sup>

If one will closely study a paragraph like this, standing in its Saxon simplicity and strength, and brightened with touches of poetical beauty, he may see why Raleigh is ranked among the very purest and best of all English prose writers.

Then follows another short essay on the "Causes of the Magnificency and Opulency of Cities."

Then comes a chapter on a very different subject: "The Sceptic."

Among

<sup>66</sup> *The Works of Sir Walter Raleigh*, Oxford, 1829, Oldys and Birch, Vol. VIII. p. 538.

Among his works is one entitled, *Sir Walter Raleigh's Instructions to his Son and to Posterity*, in ten short chapters. The titles of these chapters will shew the general range of the work: "Virtuous persons to be made choice of for friends;" "Great care to be had in the choosing of a wife;" "Wisest men have been abused by flatterers;" "Private quarrels to be avoided;" "Three rules to be observed for the preservation of a man's estate;" "What sort of servants are fittest to be entertained;" "Brave rags wear soonest out of fashion;" "Riches not to be sought by evil means;" "What inconveniences happen to such as delight in wine;" "Let God be thy protector and director in all thy actions."

The opening of the tenth chapter is impressive: "Now for the world, I know it too well to persuade thee to dive into the practices thereof; rather stand upon thine own guard against all that tempt thee thereunto, or may practise upon thee in thy conscience, thy reputation, or thy purse: resolve that no man is wise or safe, but he that is honest."

Next follows *A Treatise of the Soul*, containing many curious and entertaining thoughts. Alluding to the disposition among the ancient nations to deny to woman a rational soul, he says: "But what need we spend words about this, whereof no man doubteth, that women have souls eternal, endowed with reason, wise, sober, temperate, and holy, redeemed by Christ, sanctified by his Spirit, and chosen by the Father to the everlasting kingdom of heaven."

This is followed by a learned work, entitled *A Discourse of Tenures which were before the Conquest*, a treatise which

which could not have been written except by a careful student.

We have also some forty or fifty pages filled with such letters of Raleigh as have been preserved, and which are very important as elucidating the course of his life.

Another important chapter from his writings is entitled, "A Relation of Cadiz action in the year 1596, written by Sir Walter Raleigh, and transcribed from a manuscript in the hands of his grandchild, Mr. Raleigh."

The following passage may serve to show not only Raleigh's style as a writer, but his wide range as a thinker:—

"And for this working power, which we call nature, the beginning of motion and rest, according to Aristotle; the same is nothing else but the strength and faculty which God hath infused into every creature, having no other self-ability than a clock, after it is wound up by a man's hand, hath. Those therefore who attribute unto this faculty any first or sole power, have therein no other understanding than such a one hath, who looking into the stern of a ship, and finding it guided by the helm and rudder, doth ascribe some absolute virtue to the piece of wood, without all consideration of the hand that guides it or of the judgment which also directeth and commandeth the hand; forgetting in this and all else that by the virtue of the first act all agents work whatsoever they work: *Virtute primi actus, agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt*; for as the mind of man seeth by the organ of the eye, heareth by the ears, and maketh choice by the will; and therefore we attribute sight to the eye, and hearing to the ears &c., and yet it is the mind only that giveth ability, life and motion to all these his instruments and organs: so  
God



God worketh by angels, by the sun, by the stars by nature or infused properties and by men as by several organs, several effects: all second causes whatsoever being but instruments conduits and pipes which carry and disperse what they have received from the head and fountain of the universal." <sup>66</sup>

As a poet, Raleigh has furnished pieces of a wide variety, grave and gay. In some of his songs and ditties he has touches of that matchless grace which Shakespeare throws around the little love-songs that besprinkle his plays. How easily and trippingly run the lines in the opening of "The Shepherd's Slumber." These poems will be found in the latter part of the eighth volume of Oldys and Birch's edition of *Raleigh's Works*.

" In Pescod time, when hound to horn  
 Gives ear till buck be killed,  
 And little lads with pipes of corn  
 Sate keeping beasts a-field,  
 I went to gather strawberries tho'  
 By woods and groves full fair;  
 And parch'd my face with Phœbus so,  
 In walking in the air,  
 That down I laid me by the stream  
 With boughs all over clad;  
 And there I met the strangest dream,  
 That ever shepherd had.  
 Methought I saw each Christmas game,  
 Each revel all and some;  
 And everything that I can name,  
 Or may in fancy come.

The

<sup>66</sup> *Works of Sir Walter Raleigh*, Oxford, 1829, Vol. II. pp. 24, 25.

The substance of the fights I saw  
In silence pass they shall ;  
Because I lack the skill to draw  
The order of them all.  
But Venus shall not pass my pen,  
Whose maidens in disdain,  
Did feed upon the hearts of men  
That Cupid's bow had slain.  
And that blind boy was all in blood  
Be-bathed up to his ears :  
And like a Conqueror he stood  
And scorned lovers' tears."

Hardly any man was ever more fitted by his experiences than Raleigh to set the pleasures of the country over against the shows and splendors of the Court. He had lived for years in the most magnificent Court of Europe. We doubt not he uttered his inmost heart when he wrote "A Description of the Country's Recreations."

"Abused mortals ! did you know  
Where joy, heart's-ease and comforts grow,  
You'd scorn proud towers,  
And seek them in these bowers,  
Where winds sometimes our woods perhaps may shake,  
But blustering care could never tempest make,  
Nor murmurs e'er come nigh us,  
Saving of fountains that glide by us.

"Here's no fantastic masque nor dance,  
But of our kids that frisk and prance :  
Nor wars are seen,  
Unless upon the green,  
Two harmless lambs are butting one the other,  
Which done, both bleating run, each to his mother ;  
And wounds are never found  
Save what the plough-share gives the ground."

One

One may search long before he finds a prettier word-picture than this of the two lambs and their mimic fight. The following noble stanzas show that he could pass from gay and lively measures to lofty hymns of worship. Many passages from his prose writings as well as his poetical reveal in him a devout and reverent spirit. It is supposed that the following lines were written some time during his long imprisonment: —

“Rise, O my soul, with thy desires to Heaven,  
And with divinest contemplation use  
Thy time where time's eternity is given,  
And let vain thoughts no more thy thoughts abuse ;  
But down in darkness let them lie,  
So live thy better, let thy worse thoughts die !

“And thou, my soul, inspir'd with holy flame,  
View and review with most regardful eye  
That holy cross, whence thy salvation came,  
On which thy Saviour and thy sin did die !  
For in that sacred object is much pleasure,  
And in that Saviour is my life, my treasure.

“To thee O Jesu ! I direct my eyes,  
To thee my hands, to thee my humble knees ;  
To thee my heart shall offer sacrifice,  
To thee my thoughts, who my thoughts only sees :  
To thee myself, myself and all I give ;  
To thee I die, to thee I only live.”

We will give only one passage more from his poems, and that in a very different vein, but the lines are neatly and gracefully turned. The title of the piece is, “His Love admits no Rival.”

“Shall

“ Shall I, like a hermit dwell  
On a rock, or in a cell,  
Calling home the smallest part  
That is missing of my heart,  
To bestow it where I may  
Meet a rival every day?  
If she undervalue me  
What care I how fair she be !

“ Were her tresses angel gold,  
If a stranger may be bold,  
Unrebukéd, unafraid,  
To convert them to a braid ;  
And with little more ado  
Work them into bracelets, too :  
If the mine be grown so free  
What care I how rich it be !

“ Were her lips as rich a prize  
As her hairs, or precious eyes,  
If she lay them out to take  
Kisses, for good manners sake :  
And let every lover skip  
From her hand unto her lip :  
If she seem not chaste to me,  
What care I how chaste she be.

“ No ; she must be perfect snow,  
In effect as well as show ;  
Warming but as snow-balls do,  
Not like fire by burning too ;  
But when she by change hath got  
To her heart a second lot,  
Then, if others share with me  
Farewell her, whate'er she be ! ”

Raleigh's

Raleigh's stay in prison, as we have already said, was a little more than twelve years. He went in upon the 16th of December, 1603, and the first step for his release was reached January 30, 1616. In the depths of his prison walls he had been brooding over the unsettled problem of Guiana. With the experience of his former voyage, he believed that he could go now and open to his king and country that great treasure-house of wealth. We need not doubt that Raleigh really thought so. In those days men saw visions and dreamed dreams, and what more natural than that Raleigh, with his sanguine and poetic temperament, should be of the number of the dreamers. The King was willing to have himself and his realm made rich, even by a man whom, twelve years before, he had doomed to the scaffold. And so many hopes and influences conspiring, the prison doors were opened and the prisoner permitted to come forth. This was brought about by the following royal order: —

“ His Majesty, out of his gracious inclination towards you, being pleased to release you out of your imprisonment in the Tower, to go abroad with a keeper, to make your provisions for your intended voyage, we think it good to admonish you, though we do not prejudicate your own discretion so much as to think you would attempt it without leave, that you should not presume to resort either to his Majesty's Court, the Queen's or Prince's; nor go into any public assemblies wheresoever, without especial licence obtained from his Majesty for your warrant. But only that you use the benefit of his Majesty's grace to follow the business which you are to undertake, and for which, upon your  
humble

humble request, his Majesty hath been graciously pleased to grant you that freedom." <sup>67</sup>

This kind of liberty, though narrow and restricted, permitted him once again to breathe the free air of heaven, and feel the tides of human life flowing around him. He went on busily with his work of preparation for his voyage. He worked with the more alacrity and joy, because it was generally understood that a commission such as he had now received from the King was equivalent to a pardon. Edwards says: "It was also matter of current rumor that, the precise legal effect of such a Commission of Admiralty had been a topic of conversation between the doomed man himself and a very great lawyer indeed. It was rumoured that Raleigh had asked the Lord Keeper Bacon, whether or not it would be wise for him to draw his purse-strings once again, and by increasing his previous payment to the friends at Court, obtain an express pardon under the Great Seal. Such a pardon had already been offered him by those who knew the way to master the King's reluctance. The illustrious lawyer, it was added, replied thus: 'You have it already, by the terms of your Commission. Money is the knee-timber of your voyage. Spare your purse in this particular. For, upon my life, you have a sufficient Pardon for all that is past already, the King having, under his Great Seal, made you Admiral of the Fleet, and given you power of martial law over your officers and soldiers. Your Commission is as good a Pardon for all former offences as the Law of England can afford you.'" <sup>68</sup> These are words credited

<sup>67</sup> *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by Edward Edwards, 1868, p. 563.

<sup>68</sup> *Idem*, p. 589.

ited to Bacon, though not without some doubt of their real origin.

This would seem to be the sensible, as well as the legal, view of the whole subject. But in all the preparations for this voyage, plotters were at work to turn everything to Raleigh's disadvantage. Count Gondomar, of Spain, acting secretly in the Spanish interest, was bent on Raleigh's ruin. Spain, as we have seen, had a long score of complaints against the great Englishman, whose counsels had helped so much to destroy her proud Armada, and to crush her great ships of war in her own port of Cadiz. And now that the treacherous James I. could be flattered and bought over to serve the Spanish idea, the time had come for Spain to work out her revenges.

The men who were enrolled in this fleet for Guiana were, to a large extent, such as would serve to thwart the purposes of any expedition. There is no pleasure in following the mishaps and misfortunes of this voyage. Everything turned out unfortunately. In an attack on St. Thomas, young Walter Raleigh, son of Sir Walter, twenty-three years old, educated at Oxford, fell, mortally wounded by a Spanish musket. This death came with a crushing weight upon the father's and mother's heart. The expedition, from beginning to end, is one long story of disappointed hopes, calamity following calamity in quick succession, as if the elements were all conspiring to work out Raleigh's destruction. He came back to Plymouth June 21, 1618. His wife went down to meet him, but their interview was of necessity sad and mournful. After a delay of two or three weeks, they started for London. When about twenty miles on their way, they  
were

were met by the King's officer, and Raleigh was put under arrest, and returned to Plymouth in charge of the officer.\*

On the 23d of July, orders came from the Privy Council at London to officer Stukeley, commanding "that you do safely and speedily bring hither the person of Sir Walter Raleigh to answer before us such matters as shall be objected against him in his Majesty's behalf."

On their way to London they passed by their old country-home at Sherborne, now in its full summer glory. With sad eyes he and Lady Raleigh looked upon these reminders of their once prosperous and happy life. We pass by all the prolonged incidents and anxieties of these days: the plans made for his escape out of the country; the changing episodes of hope and fear, until at length, on the 10th of August, 1618, Raleigh is again a prisoner in the Tower, which place he left about twenty-eight months before.

Spain, through her malicious agents, now had the King's ear. He was willing apparently to hear anything to the prisoner's disadvantage. At one of the meetings of the Privy Council to which Raleigh was called, the Attorney-General, Yelverton, in addressing the Council, said, by way of preface, that "never was subject so obliged to his Sovereign as Sir Walter had been." This was what would delight a tyrant. He lived on flattering lies. Through these weeks Raleigh waited in perpetual uncertainty, knowing that he was girt about by the malice of his enemies as with chains

\* "Memorandum concerning the position and climate of Guiana. Attempted by Sir W. Raleigh, [Robt.] Harcourt and others. Raleigh ruined by King James, who, by Gondomar, let

the King of Spain know his whole design before Raleigh was out of the Thames." *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1574-1660, p. 218.



chains of steel. On the 28th of October he took leave of his prison to prepare for his execution on the morrow. He was really going to the scaffold, for the great service he had done his country in her wars with Spain. There was a monarch on the throne, not of the rough Tudor race, but of the tyrannical Stuart stock, who was willing to sell one of the greatest and most honored of his subjects to further some paltry plans of his own with Spain.<sup>70</sup>

On the 29th of October, 1618, he died on the scaffold as only an innocent man and a hero dies. Addressing the people who stood around, just before the axe was to fall, he said: "I have had fits of ague for these two days. If therefore you perceive any weakness in me, ascribe it to my sickness rather than to myself. I am infinitely bound to God that he hath vouchsafed me to die in the sight of so noble an assembly, and not in darkness, in that Tower where I have suffered so much adversity and a long sickness. I thank God that my fever hath not taken me at this time as I prayed to God it might not. It is not now a time either to fear or to flatter kings. I am now the subject of Death, and the great God of Heaven is my Sovereign, before whose tribunal-seat I am shortly to appear. To swear falsely, at any time, is a great sin. So, to call God to witness an untruth is a sin above measure sinful. But to do it at the hour of one's death,

<sup>70</sup> "One fact alone is quite sufficient to indicate the true character of this bloody transaction. The conviction of Raleigh purported to be for treasonable intercourse with Spain: his execution under this conviction was caused by the injuries done to the town and forces of this very Spain, for which it had been

alleged he entertained a traitorous affection. Had he loved Spain more and England less, he had never died on the scaffold. The true cause of his execution was the desire on the part of James to gratify Spain." *History of North Carolina*, by Dr. Francis L. Hawks, 1857, Vol. I. pp. 66, 67.

death, in the presence of Almighty God, before whom one is forthwith to appear, were the greatest madness and sin that could be possible."<sup>11</sup>

His dying speech was long, and these are only brief selections from it.

The murmurs of the people began even at the scaffold. When the head was held up to view, one man in the crowd called out, "We have not such another head to be cut off." A response came: "I wish such an one were on Master Secretary's shoulders."

Lady Raleigh with her son Carew survived; but this son was inferior to young Walter, who fell at St. Thomas, and who inherited a large share of his father's genius.

Raleigh died to satisfy the wrath of his enemies. The crimes charged against him were never proved, and in the judgment of posterity were never committed. James I., who ought to have been prompt to protect such a benefactor of his country, gave him away to Spanish intrigue. His name stands on the pages of history as that of his judicial murderer.

We have quoted freely from several of the Biographies of Raleigh which have from time to time appeared during the last two hundred and fifty years. It may be well, however, to give a brief enumeration of the more prominent of these works.

In the very year of Raleigh's execution, no less a person than Lord Bacon wrote a somewhat extended account of his manner of life and death; but it was done in a  
fycophantic

<sup>11</sup> *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by Edward Edwards, 1868, p. 699.

fycophantic spirit, to try and justify his royal master. It was such conduct as this on the part of Lord Bacon that led Pope to write, —

“ If parts allure thee think how Bacon shined,  
The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind.”

Before the year 1702 two or three attempts had been made to write Raleigh's life, and these works were not without their merits. But a more important work appeared in 1733, when William Oldys published his *Life of Raleigh*, followed soon after by a biography from Dr. Thomas Birch.

Other works in the same line, of varying merit, came from the press as years passed on, but none of them have maintained their ground firmly, until the *Life of Raleigh* by Arthur Cayley appeared in 1805. This was, in some important respects, an advance on what had gone before.

In 1829 appeared the Oxford edition of *Raleigh's Works*, with the lives of Oldys and Birch, the whole in eight volumes.

Mrs. A. T. Thompson in 1830 published a *Life of Raleigh* in London, which was republished after some years in Philadelphia. This contained new and original matter.

In 1833 Patrick Frazer Tytler brought out his *Life of Raleigh*, which still holds its place among the better biographies, and is a very interesting and valuable work.

In 1868 Edward Edwards published what, on the whole, may be regarded as the most full and perfect biography of Raleigh that has ever been written. He had access to records which had never before been used in this connection,  
and

and the life of Raleigh was thus traced with more minuteness than by any previous writer.

The foregoing are the chief among many writings illustrative of the life of Raleigh. No man, perhaps, who lived during the reign of Elizabeth, except it may be Shakespeare, has attracted to himself so many writers as Raleigh. From generation to generation the interest in him continues without abatement.

One of the latest evidences of this may be seen in a little pamphlet which has recently appeared. It bears the following descriptive title: "Sir Walter Raleigh and America. A Sermon preached at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, on May 14, 1882, by the Rev. Canon Farrar, D.D., F.R.S. At the unveiling of the 'Raleigh Window,' the gift of American citizens. Published by Request. London: Printed at the 'Anglo-American Times' Press, 127 Strand, W.C." The facts connected with this matter are more fully explained in a prefatory letter from the Rev. Canon Farrar to J. H. Puleston, Esq., M.P., which is as follows:—

17, DEAN'S YARD, WESTMINSTER.

DEAR MR. PULESTON, — In accordance with the request you kindly made to me on behalf of some of the congregation, I place in your hands the manuscript of my sermon.

"I am thus enabled not only to express my gratitude for the gift of the window to many who were not present when it was unveiled, but also to place on record my special acknowledgments to the kindness of J. T. Lord, Esq., to whose public-spirited exertions the successful carrying out of the design is almost exclusively due, to the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, and to other distinguished American gentlemen who have taken an interest in this memorial. I trust that many an American visitor to London will feel some pleasure when he  
sees

sees the arms of the United States emblazoned on the window of an English church. I cannot be mistaken in the conviction that incidents like this will have their little share in linking together the amity of nations, TWO yet ONE, upon whose union and faithfulness depends in no small measure the welfare of all the world.

I am sincerely yours,

FREDERICK W. FARRAR.

At the bottom of the memorial window are the following lines, written by James Russell Lowell :—

“ The New World’s sons, from England’s breasts we drew  
Such milk as bids remember whence we came ;  
Proud of her Past, wherefrom our Present grew,  
This window we inscribe with Raleigh’s name.”

The following is from Canon Farrar’s sermon :—

“ Sir Walter Raleigh, in whose honour this window is given, was not one of the world’s simple, blameless characters, like William Caxton of whom we spoke so recently. Men of splendid physique and genius, children of a splendid and passionate age, have temptations more intense and terrible than we who live our small humdrum lives in the petty routine of commonplace. Our faults may be as bad as theirs, though they are meaner and smaller faults. Their sins show large in the largeness of their lives, and in the fierce light which beats upon them. . . . If Walter Raleigh, in some things, sinned greatly, God loved him so well that he also suffered greatly and out of much tribulation washed his robes white in the blood of the Lamb. . . . Remember also that he must be ranked forever among the benefactors of his race, and that there are very few of us who have not done worse deeds than he, and have never done as good ones.

It

It is strange to me that one paltry tablet should hitherto have been almost the only memorial of such a man. Great nations should have more pride in their few great sons. I think that Americans will rejoice with us that, after more than 280 years, he should have a worthier memorial of his immortal deeds in the Church under whose altar lies his headless corpse."<sup>72</sup>

<sup>72</sup> "His body was privately buried in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster. His head was embalmed and preserved in a cask by his devoted wife, who, with pious solicitude, kept it through a widowhood of twenty-nine years. When she died, the only surviving son of Sir Walter preserved it during his life, and it was finally at his death laid in the

same grave with him." *History of North Carolina*, by Dr. Francis L. Hawks, 1857, Vol. I. p. 66.

NOTE.—In Canon Farrar's prefatory Letter on p. 91, the C. in Mr. Winthrop's name was omitted in the original publication. We have inserted it, that the error may not again be repeated.









people, as to him, his heires and assignes, and to euery or any of them shall seeme good, and the same to haue, holde, occupy & enioy to him, his heires and assignes for euer, with all prerogatiues, commodities, iurisdic<sup>t</sup>ions, royalties, priuiledges, franchises and preeminences, thereto or thereabouts both by sea and land, whatsoeuer we by our letters patents may grant, and as we or any of our noble progenitors haue heretofore granted to any person or persons, bodies politique or corporate: and the saide Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and all such as from time to time, by licence of vs, our heires and succeffors, shal goe or trauaile thither to inhabite or remaine, there to build and fortifie, at the discretion of the said Walter Raleigh, his heires & assignes, the statutes or act of Parliament made against fugitiues, or against such as shall depart, remaine or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any statute, act, law, or any ordinance whatsoeuer to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And we do likewise by these presents, of our especial grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, for vs, our heires and succeffors, giue and graunt full authoritie, libertie and power to the said Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and euery of them, that he and they, and euery or any of them shall and may at all and euery time and times hereafter, haue, take, and leade in the sayde voyage, and trauaile thitherward, or to inhabite there with him or them, and euery or any of them, such and so many of our subiects as shall willingly accompany him or them, and euery or any of them: and to whom also we doe by these presents, giue full libertie and authoritie in that behalfe, and also to haue, take  
and

and employ, and vse sufficient shipping and furniture for the transportations, and Nauigations in that behalfe, so that none of the same persons or any of them be such as hereafter shall be restrained by vs, our heires or successors.

And further that the said Walter Raleigh his heires and assignes, and euery of them, shall haue, holde, occupie and enioy to him, his heires and assignes, and euery of them for euer, all the foyle of all such landes, territories, and Countreis, so to be discouered and possessed as aforesayd, and of all such Cities, Castles, Townes, Villages, and places in the same, with the right. royalties, franchises, and iurisdiccions, as well marine as other within the sayd landes, or Countreis, or the seas thereunto adioyning, to be had, or vsed, with full power to dispose thereof, and of euery part in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the lawes of England, as neere as the same conueniently may be, at his, and their wil and pleasure, to any persons then being, or that shall remaine within the allegiance of vs, our heires and successors: reseruing alwayes to vs, our heires and successors, for all seruices, dueties, and demaunds, the fift part of all the oare of golde and siluer, that from time to time, and at all times after such discouerie, subduing and possessing, shall be there gotten and obtained: All which lands, Countreis, and territories shall for euer be holden of the said Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, of vs, our heires and successors, by homage, and by the sayd payment of the said fift part, reserued onely for all seruices.

And moreouer, we do by these presents, for vs, our heires and successors, giue and grant licence to the said Walter Raleigh, his heires, and assignes, and euery of them, that he,

and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter and expulse, repell and resist aswell by sea as by lande, and by all other wayes whatsoever, all and euery such person and persons whatsoever, as without especiall liking and licence of the sayd Walter Raleigh, and of his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite within the sayde Countreys, or any of them, or within the space of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within such Countreys as aforesayde (if they shall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limits as aforesayd with the subiects of any Christian Prince being in amitie with vs) where the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires, or assignes, or any of them, or his, or their, or any of their associats or company, shall within fixe yeeres (next ensuing) make their dwellings or abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter unlawfully to annoy, eyther by Sea or Lande the sayde Walter Raleigh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of his or their companies: giuing and graunting by these presents further power and authoritie to the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and euery of them from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, to take and surprise by all maner of meanes whatsoever, all and euery those person or persons, with their Shippes, Vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the sayde Walter Raleigh, or his heires, or assignes, as aforesayd, shalbe found traffiquing into any Harbour, or Harbours, Creeke, or Creekes, within the limits aforesayd, (the subiects of our Realmes and Dominions, and all other persons in amitie with vs, trading to the Newfound lands for fishing as heretofore

fore they haue commonly vsed, or being driuen by force of a tempest, or shipwracke onely excepted :) and those persons, and euery of them, with their shippes, vessels, goods, and furniture to deteine and possesse as of good and lawfull prize, according to the discretion of him the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires, and assignes, and euery, or any of them. And for vniting in more perfect league and amitie, of such Countreys, landes, and territories so to be possessed and inhabited as aforesayd with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and the better encouragement of men to these enterprises: we doe by these presents, graunt and declare that all such Countreys, so hereafter to be possessed and inhabited as is aforesayd, from thencefoorth shall be of the allegiance of vs, our heires and successours. And wee doe graunt to the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires, and assignes, and to all, and euery of them, and to all, and euery other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entred in some of our Courts of recorde within our Realme of England, that with the assent of the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires or assignes, shall in his iourneis for discouerie, or in the iourneis for conquest hereafter trauaile to such lands, countreys and territories, as aforesayd, and to their, and to euery of their heires, that they, and euery or any of them, being cyther borne within our sayde Realmes of England or Irelande, or in any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the Lands, Countreys, and Territories, with such licence (as aforesayd) shall and may haue all the priuiledges of free Denizens, and persons natieue of England, and within our allegiance in such like ample maner and forme, as if they were borne and personally

sonally resident within our said Realme of England, any law, custome, or vsage to the contrary notwithstanding.<sup>78</sup>

And

<sup>78</sup> The following excerpts will throw light upon the subject of English colonization just before the undertaking of Raleigh. The first passage is under date of 1574.

"Points set down by the Committees appointed in the behalf of the Company to confer with Mr. Carleill upon his intended discovery and attempt in the northern parts of America.' The Committees are well persuaded that the country is very fruitful: inhabited with savage people of a mild and tractable disposition, and of all other unfrequented places 'the only most fittest and most commodious for us to inter meddle withal.' They propose that one hundred men be conveyed thither, to remain one year, who with friendly entreaty of the people, may enter into the better knowledge of the country, and gather what commodities may hereafter be expected from it. The charges will amount to 4.000/.: the city of Bristol having very readily offered 1.000/.; the residue remains to be furnished by the city of London. Privileges to be procured by Mr. Carlile for the first adventurers; also terms upon which future settlers will be allowed to plant. In the patent to be granted by the Queen liberty will be given to transport all contented to go, who will be bound to stay there ten years at least. None to go over without licence of the patentees, neither to inhabit or traffic within 200 leagues of the place where 'the General shall have first settled his being and residence.'

"In *Domestic Corresp. Eliz.*, Vol. XCV., No. 63, *Col.*, p. 475, will be found a Petition to the Queen dated 22 March 1574, to allow of an enterprise for discovery of sundry rich and unknown lands, '*fatally reserved for*

*England and for the honor of Your Majesty*,' which is endorsed, 'Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Sir Geo. Peckham, Mr. CARLILE, and Sir Ric. Greenville, and others, voyages.'" *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1574-1660, p. 1.

1580. "Fragment of report of certain persons who 'travelled the aforesaid countries' [of America]. Account of the people, their disposition, 'courtteously given:' drefs, the women wearing great plates of gold, covering their whole bodies like armour; habits and customs; mode of warfare; religion, their god, a devil which speaks to them sometimes in likeness of a calf. Order of choosing their kings, and ceremonies observed towards them. One Capt. Champion, of New Haven in France, had given to him 100 pieces of silver for one of their ancients or war-flags. Description of the soil, most excellent, especially towards the north of the river May, and produce of the country. Of animals and birds, and the manner of killing, 'great beafts as big as two of our oxen' [probably buffaloes]. Of their treasures, in every cottage pearl to be found, and in some houses a peck. About the bar of 'St. Maries' to be seen fire dragons, 'which make the very air red as they fly.' The streets broader than London streets. Banqueting houses built of crystal, with pillars of massive silver some of gold. Pieces of clean gold as big as a man's fist in the heads of some of the rivers."—*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1574-1660, p. 3.

William Strachey has a passage on Queen Elizabeth in connection with the giving of this charter to Raleigh:—

"Her Majestie, of famous memory, so well understood her princely right here-  
in

And forasmuch as vpon the finding out, discovering, or inhabiting of such remote lands, countries, and territories as aforefaid, it shalbe necessary for the safety of all men, that shall aduenture themselues in those iourneyes or voyages, to determine

in (derived down from her heroik grandfather to her self) as she graunted many large pattents and gracious commissions, to divers gentle men of birth and quality, to inhabite those parts, and to keepe her title quick and panting still therein: as first to Sir Humfrey Gilbert (whome she light first forooke before he would forsake his hopes and journeis thither;) and afterward to the sometime much honored Sir W. Raleigh, knight, to whome and to his heires, in the 26 yeare of her raigne she confirmed, at Westminster, a large graunt from 33 to 40 degrees of latitude, exemplified with many immunities and priviledges." *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Brittania*, London, Hakluyt Society, 1849, p. 8.

The following illustrative paragraphs are found in the *Calendar of State Papers* belonging to the early days of the year 1584:—

"A consideration of such things as shall be necessary for the advancement of the discovery of the North-west passage.

"A grant to Adrian Gilbert of the same priviledges, as were not long since granted to Sir Humfrey Gilbert.

"That Adrian Gilbert has travailed and still travails at great charge to discover the north-west parts of Atlantis, called Novus Orbis, not hitherto discovered by any Christians but him.

"That his purpose is to win the people there to the knowledge of God and open a profitable traffic.

"That the Queen shall license him and his associates to leave the realm

with ships, men, armour, &c. for any parts between the Equinoctial and the North Pole and enjoy all places he may discover with all royalties therein."

"Similar paper but with differences in the details. The Company is to be called, 'The Colleagues of the Discovery of the North-west Passage.' They are to allow Her Majesty one twentieth of all gold, silver, pearls, &c. To unload at London, Plymouth and Dartmouth. If they abide in those parts and have issue born them, the children are to be denizens of England. Adrian Gilbert, Walter Raleigh and John Owens to be custom-free for 60 years, for goods from those lands. For five years, no other to trade in this voyage without a written consent from Adrian and his heirs." *Calendar of State Papers*, 1580-1625, pp. 103, 104.

"It is knowne to the world and cannot bee forgotten, that the dayes and raigne of Queene Elizabeth brought forth the highest degree of wealth, happinesse and honour, that euer England had before her time, whereof to let passe the particular praises, as impertinent to my purpose, I doe onely call to minde our Royall Fleetes and Marchants Shippes (the Jewels of our land) our excellent nauigators, and admirable voyages, as into all parts and round about the Globe with good successe, to the high fame and glorie of our Nation, so especially their aime and course was most directed to the new found world, to the maine land and infinite Ilands of the West Indies." *Nova Brittania, Force Historical Tracts*, Vol. I. p. 7.

determine to liue together in Christian peace, and ciuill quietnesse eche with other, whereby euery one may with more pleasure and profit enioy that whereunto they shall atteine with great paine and perill, wee for vs, our heires and succcessors, are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents doe giue & grant to the said Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes for euer, that he and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may from time to time for euer hereafter, within the said mentioned remote lands and countries, in the way by the seas thither, and from thence, haue full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, gouerne, and rule by their and euery or any of their good discretions and policies, as well in causes capitall, or criminall, as ciuill, both marine and other, all such our subiects, as shal from time to time aduenture themselues in the said iourneis or voyages, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such lands, countreis, or territories as aforesayd, or that shall abide within 200. leagues of any of the sayde place or places, where the sayde Walter Raleigh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any of his or their associats or companies, shall inhabite within 6. yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances as shall be by him the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them deuised, or established, for the better gouernment of the said people as aforesaid. So alwayes as the said statutes, lawes, and ordinances may be, as nere as conueniently may bee, agreeable to the forme of the lawes, statutes, gouernment, or pollicie of England, and also so as they be not against the true Christian faith, nowe professed in the Church of England, nor in any wise to withdrawe any  
of

of the subiects or people of those lands or places from the alleagance of vs, our heires and successeurs, as their immediate Soueraigne vnder God.

And further, we doe by these presents for vs, our heires and successeurs, giue and grant ful power and authoritie to our trustie and welbeloued Counsaillour Sir William Cecill knight, Lorde Burghley, or high Treasourer of England, and to the Lorde Treasourer of England for vs, our heires and successeurs, for the time being, and to the priuie Counsaile of vs, our heires and successeurs, or any foure or more of them for the time being, that he, they, or any foure or more of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, vnder his or their handes or Seales by vertue of these presents, authorise and licence the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them by him, & by themselves, or by their, or any of their sufficient Attornies, Deputies, Officers, Ministers, Factors, and seruants, to imbarke & transport out of our Realme of England and Ireland, and the Dominions thereof, all or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his and their associats and companies, and euery or any of them, with such other necessities and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the sayde Lorde Treasurer, or foure or more of the priuie Counsaile, of vs our heires and successeurs for the time being (as aforesaid) shalbe from time to time by his or their wisdomes, or discretions thought meete and conuenient, for the better reliefe and supportation of him the sayde Walter Raleigh, his heires, and assignes, and euery or any of them, and of his or their or any of their associats and companies,  
any



any act, statute, law, or any thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Prouided alwayes, and our wil and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes, and states, that if the sayde Walter Raleigh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter robbe or spoile by sea or by land, or doe any acte of vniust or vnlawfull hostilitie, to any of the subiects of vs, our heires or successors, or to any of the subiects of any the kings, princes, rulers, Gouvernours, or estates, being then in perfect league and amitie with vs, our heires and successors, and that vpon such iniurie, or vpon iust complaint of any such Prince, Ruler, Gouvernour or estate, or their subiects, wee, our heires and successors, shall make open Proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England, that the saide Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, or any to whom these our Letters patents may extende, shall within the termes to bee limited, by such Proclamation, make full restitution, and satisfaction of all such iniuries done: so as both we and the said Princes, or other so complaining, may hold vs and themselves fully contented: And that if the said Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to be made satisfaction accordingly within such time so to be limited, that then it shal be lawful to vs, our heires and successors, to put the sayde Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the saide places to be discovered (as is aforefaid) or any of them out of our allegiance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection of the sayde Walter Raleigh, his heires, assignes

assignes and adherents, and others so to be put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession and rule, shall be out of our allegiance and protection, and free for all Princes and others to pursue with hostilitie, as being not our subjects, nor by vs any way to be auouched, maintained, or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, or dominion, or allegiance any way belonging: for that expresse mention of the cleere yeerely value of the certaintie of the premisses, or any part thereof, or of any other gift, or grant by vs, or any our progenitors, or predecessors to the said Walter Raleigh, before this time made in these presents bee not expressed, or any other grant, ordinance, prouision, proclamation, or restraint to the contrary thereof, before this time, giuen, ordained, or prouided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoeuer, in any wise notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof, wee haue caused these our letters to be made Patents. Witnesse our selues, at Westminster the five and twentic day of March, in the fixe and twentieth yeere of our Raigns.







# THE FIRST VOYAGE TO AMERICA

UNDER THE CHARGE AND DIRECTION OF

SIR WALTER RALEGH, KNIGHT.

1584.

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HE 27 day of Aprill, in the yeere of our redemption, 1584 we departed the West of England, with two barkes well furnished with men and victuals, hauing receiued our last and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former instructions, and commandements deliuered by your selfe at our leauing the riuer of Thames. And I thinke it a matter both vnneccessary, for the manifest discourie of the Countrey, as also for tediousnesse sake, to remember vnto you the diurnall of our course, sayling thither and returning; onely I haue presumed to present vnto you this brieue discourse, by which you may iudge how profitable this land is likely to succcede, as well to your selfe, by whose direction and charge, and by whose seruantes this our discouerie hath beene performed, as also to her Highnesse, and the Common wealth, in which we hope your wisdome wilbe satisfied, considering

sidering that as much by vs hath bene brought to light, as by those smal meanes, and number of men we had, could any way haue bene expected, or hoped for.<sup>74</sup>

The

<sup>74</sup> In the original publication of this voyage by Hakluyt he gives it the following heading: "The first voyage made to the coasts of America, with two barks, wherein were Captains M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlowe, who discovered part of the countrey nowe called Virginia Anno 1584. Written by one of the said Captaines, and sent to Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, at whose charge and direction, the said voyage was set forth."

In the heading just quoted it will be noticed that the narrative of this voyage was "written by one of the said Captaines." This, joined to a sentence in the narrative, makes it certain that the paper was written by Barlowe. The sentence referred to is the following: "The Captaine, Philip Amidas, myselfe and others," &c. "Myselfe" was the man who wrote the narrative, and was consequently Arthur Barlowe. It appears that Barlowe had served with credit under Raleigh in Ireland. His paper shows him a man able to use the English language with vigor and good judgment.

It was fortunate for the bold navigators, who ventured out three hundred years ago upon their voyages of discovery, that they found a man so able and faithful as Richard Hakluyt to gather up and preserve their memorials.

Hakluyt was born in 1553, and was one year younger than Raleigh. He was educated for the church at Westminster School, and at Christ Church College, Oxford, finishing his studies there in 1575, at the age of twenty-two. While at the university he distinguished himself for his study of voyages and travels, and was soon appointed Lec-

turer at Oxford on geography and cosmography. He introduced the use of globes and other geographical apparatus into the English schools. In 1584, the year when the *letters-patents* were given to Raleigh, Hakluyt went as chaplain to the English embassy at Paris. On his return to England he made the acquaintance of Raleigh, who assisted him in entering upon that work of publication which has rendered his name famous. He made a record of more than two hundred voyages, under the title, *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*. Lond. 1589. New edition, 5 vols., Lond. 1809-1812.

The *Hakluyt Society*, organized in England in 1846, perpetuates his fame. He died in 1616, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

In the *Calendar of State Papers* we find, under date of April 7, 1585, a brief letter from Hakluyt, written from Paris. It is addressed to Secretary Walsingham. He says: "Two days before my despatch, the Queen, on sight of two books of mine, Aristotle's politics in Latin, and Mr. Raleigh's Voyage in English promised me the next vacant prebend in Bristol; but I hear that Mr. Saunders is resigning his to another. If such resignations are permitted it may be many years before I am placed. I leave it to Sir W. Raleigh to tell you how careful I have been to send him discoveries both manuscript and print, about his voyage." *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Addenda*, 1580-1625, p. 141.

The following item comes also from the *Calendar of State Papers*:—

"JAN. 7, 1584 — Richard Hakluyt preacher,

The tenth of May we arriued at the Canaries, and the tenth of Iune in this present yeere, we were fallen with the Islands of the West Indies, keeping a more Southeasterly course then was needefull, because wee doubted that the current of the Bay of Mexico, disboggging betweene the Cape of Florida and Hauana, had bene of greater force then afterwarde we found it to bee. At which Islands we found the ayre very vnwholsome, and our men grew for the most part ill disposed: so that hauing refreshed our selues with sweet water, & fresh victuall, we departed the twelfth day of our arriuall there.<sup>75</sup> These Islands, with the rest adioyning, are so well knownen to your selfe, and to many others, as I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them.

The second of Iuly<sup>76</sup> we found shole water, wher we smelt so sweet, and so strong a smel, as if we had bene in the midst of

preacher, to fame [Walsingham]. His opinion on the intended voyage of Western discovery. The trade in furs and hides was very rich. Would be willing to accompany the expedition and to employ all his simple observations and reading on it, and upon intimation being given, with the wings of Pegasus, he would soon fly into England." *Domestic*, 1581-90, p. 150.

<sup>75</sup> For a long course of years after the voyages of Christopher Columbus, the habit of navigators, sailing from the European shores to the New World, was to direct their course first to the West Indies, and then to sail up the coast to find the more northern portions of North America.

"They sailed from England on the 29th of April, high in hope and full of that novel interest felt by men who are hazarding their lives in a cause and climate hitherto untried. Unskilled yet

in the higher mysteries of navigation, and fearful of departing from the course formerly pursued by traversers of the Atlantic they steered first for the Canaries and thence to the West Indies, where the summer heats caused sickness among them. . . . As they drew near to the shores they had so long waited for although the eye was yet unable to discern the distant landscape of luxurious verdure, yet another organ of sense told them with unwonted accuracy of the charms which nature had lavished on America. A fragrance as of a thousand different flowers, varying in their odor yet uniting in their pleasing address to the senses, filled the air and was wafted across the water to the approaching barks." R. R. Howinson's *History of Virginia*, 1846, pp. 48, 49.

<sup>76</sup> This was two months and five days after they left the "west of England."  
Thirty

of some delicate garden abounding with all kinde of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured, that the land could not be farre distant: and keeping good watch, and bearing but slacke saile, the fourth of the same moneth we arriued vpon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firme lande, and we sayled along the same a hundred and twentie English miles before we could finde any entrance, or riuer issuing into the Sea. The first that appeared vnto vs, we entred,<sup>77</sup> though not without some difficultie, & cast anker about three harquebuz-shot within the hauens mouth, on the left hand of the same: and after thanks giuen to God for our safe arriuall thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adioyning, and to take possession of the same, in the right of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, and rightfull Queene, and Princeesse of the same, and after deliuered the same ouer to your vse, according to her Maiesties grant, and letters patents, vnder her Highnesse  
great

Thirty and forty years later vessels came directly across the ocean to New England without following this southern track. It took about the same time to cross the ocean on this northern route. John Smith, in his *Pathway to Ere<sup>a</sup> Plantation*, says: "1614. within eight weekes sayling I arriued at *Monahigan* an Ile in America in 43. degrees 39. minutes of Northerly latitude." Again he says: "In those yeares (1618, 1619 & 1620) many ships made exceeding good voyages, some in six weeks." The Salem company under Mr. Higginson failed from the Isle of Wight about May 1, 1629, and reached Salem June 29. The fleet that sailed with John Winthrop, in 1630, left the Isle of Wight April 8, and reached Boston

June 12. The ship that brought John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, and other distinguished men in 1633, reached Boston September 3, having left England at the middle of July, making the voyage in about seven weeks.

<sup>77</sup> It has been generally agreed, by those who have thoroughly explored this North Carolina coast, that the passage where the ships entered was New Inlet, between Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds. It needs to be constantly borne in mind that, in the voyages undertaken by Sir Walter Raleigh, the coast of what is now Virginia was hardly reached at all. The landings were on the North Carolina coast, which then and long after was part of Virginia.

great seale. Which being performed, according to the ceremonies vsed in such enterprises, we viewed the land about vs, being, whereas we first landed, very sandie and low towards the waters side, but so full of grapes, as the very beating and surge of the Sea ouerflowed them, of which we found such plentie, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the greene soile on the hils, as in the plaines, as well on euery little shrubbe, as also climbing towardes the tops of high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like abundance is not to be found: and my selfe hauing seene those parts of Europe that most abound, find such difference as were incredible to be written.

We passed from the Sea side towardes the toppes of those hilles next adioyning, being but of meane highth, and from thence wee behelde the Sea on both sides to the North, and to the South, finding no ende any of both wayes. This lande laye stretchng it selfe to the West, which after wee found to bee but an Island of twentie miles long, and not aboue fixe miles broad. Vnder the banke or hill whereon we stoode, we behelde the vallyes replenished with goodly Cedar trees, and hauing discharged our harquebuz-shot, such a flocke of Cranes (the most part white), arose vnder vs, with such a cry redoubled by many ecchoes, as if an armie of men had showted all together.

This Island had many goodly woodes full of Deere, Conies, Hares, and Fowle, euen in the middest of Summer in incredible abundance. The woodes are not such as you finde in Bohemia, Moscovia, or Hercynia, barren and fruitles, but the highest and reddest Cedars of the world, farre bettering the Ceders of the Açores, of the Indies, or Lybanus, Pynes, Cypres,



Cypres, Saffaphras,<sup>78</sup> the Lentisk, or the tree that beareth the Masticke, the tree that beareth the rine of blacke Sina-mon, of which Master Winter brought from the streights of Magellan, and many other of excellent smell and qualitie. We remained by the side of this Island two whole dayes before we saw any people of the Countrey: the third day we espied one small boate rowing towards vs hauing in it three persons: this boat came to the Island side, foure harquebuz-shot from our shippes, and there two of the people remaining, the third came along the shoreside towards vs, and wee being then all within boord, he walked vp and downe vpon the point of the land next vnto vs: then the Master and the Pilot of the Admirall, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captaine Philip Amadas, my selfe, and others rowed to the land, whole

<sup>78</sup> In the enumeration of the names of birds, beasts, plants, and trees by the writer of this narrative, one general consideration is worthy to be kept in mind. The men who went to Virginia in 1584, and the men who came to New England in 1620, were from the substantial middle class of English society. They spoke and wrote out of a common stock of general knowledge or information. What was called an oak in New England in 1620, was probably called an oak in Virginia or North Carolina in 1584. At that time there was no such progress in scientific matters that the common English nomenclature of things animate and inanimate was likely to undergo any change in the course of a few years. There is, therefore, very strong presumptive evidence that what was called a deer, a wolf, a hawk, or crane by the early New England settlers were the same animals so called in Virginia in 1584. The

foregoing remark applies, of course, only to genera, and must not be understood as covering different species. For scientific names, *vide* Harriot's narrative, *postea*.

The wild grapes, which so abounded along the coasts of North Carolina, were plentiful also in New England in the primitive days, and are so even now in many of the wild and low lands and along the banks of streams. They were regarded as good for eating, in New England, before the more cultivated varieties came into common use. Doubtless the grapes found in the more southern parts were better than those further north, having a more tropical exposure. It is claimed, indeed, that some varieties of grapes now greatly esteemed, as the Catawba, Isabella, and others, were found wild in North Carolina in 1584, and have thence been propagated.

whose comming this fellow attended, neuer making any shewe of feare or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things not vnderstood by vs, we brought him with his owne good liking, aboard the ships, and gaue him a shirt, a hat & some other things, and made him taste of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very wel: and after hauing viewed both barks, he departed, and went to his owne boat againe, which hee had left in a little Coue or Creeke adioyning: assoone as hee was two bow shoot into the water, hee fell to fishing, and in lesse then halfe an houre, he had laden his boate as deepe as it could swimme, with which hee came againe to the point of the lande, and there he diuided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship, and the other to the pinnesse: which, after he had, as much as he might, requited the former benefites receiued, departed out of our sight.

The next day there came vnto vs diuers boates, and in one of them the Kings<sup>79</sup> brother, accompanied with fortie or fiftie men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaiour as mannerly and ciuill as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the king is called Wingina, the countrey Wingandacoa, and now by her Maiestie Virginia.

<sup>79</sup> "There is great absurdity in applying the name or title of King to Indian chiefs, as that title is commonly understood. The first Europeans conferred the title upon those who appeared most prominent, in their first discoveries, for want of another more appropriate: or perhaps they had another reason, namely, that of magnifying their own exploits on their return to their own countries by reporting their interviews with, or conquests over, 'many

kings of an unknown country.'" *Indians of North America*, by S. G. Drake, Boston, 1857, p. 387.

There seems to have been no definite rule or law among the Indian tribes of this country as to what should raise a man to the place of king or chief. Something of the hereditary principle was often involved in the matter; but this was frequently overborne, by a variety of reasons and influences.

ginia. The maner of his comming was in this fort: hee left his boates altogether as the first man did a little from the shippes by the shore, and came along to the place ouer against the ships, followed with fortie men. When he came to the place, his seruants spread a long matte vpon the ground, on which he sate downe, and at the other ende of the matte foure others of his companie did the like, the rest of his men stood round about him, somewhat a farre off: when we came to the shore to him with our weapons, hee neuer mooued from his place, nor any of the other foure, nor neuer mistrusted any harme to be offered from vs, but sitting still he beckoned vs to come and sit by him, which we performed: and being set hee made all signes of ioy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast and afterwarde on ours, to shew wee were all one, smiling and making shewe the best he could of all loue, and familiaritie. After hee had made a long speech vnto vs, wee presented him with diuers things, which hee receiued very ioyfully, and thankfully. None of the company durst speake one worde all the time: only the foure which were at the other ende, spake one in the others eare very softly.

The King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children reuerenced: the King himselfe in person was at our being there, fore wounded in a fight which hee had with the King of the next countrey, called Wingina, and was shot in two places through the body, and once cleane through the thigh, but yet he recouered: by reason whereof and for that hee lay at the chiefe towne of the countrey, being fixe dayes iourney off, we saw him not at all.

After we had presented this his brother with such things  
as

as we thought he liked, wee likewise gaue somewhat to the other that sat with him on the mathe: but presently he arose and tooke all from them and put it into his owne basket, making signes and tokens, that all things ought to bee deliuered vnto him, and the rest were but his seruants, and followers. A day or two after this, we fell to trading with them, exchanging some things that we had, for Chamoyes, Buffe, and Deere skinnnes: when we shewed him all our packet of merchandize, of all things that he sawe, a bright tinne dish most pleased him, which hee presently tooke vp and clapt it before his breast, and after made a hole in the brimme thereof and hung it about his necke, making signes that it would defende him against his enemies arrowes: for those people maintaine a deadly and terrible warre, with the people and King adioyning. We exchanged our tinne dish for twentie skinnnes, woorth twentie Crownes, or twentie Nobles: and a copper kettle for fiftie skins woorth fifty Crownes. They offered vs good exchange for our hatchets, and axes, and for kniues, and would haue giuen any thing for swordes: but wee would not depart<sup>80</sup> with any. After two or three dayes the Kings brother came aboard the shippes, and dranke wine, and eat of our meat and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof: and after a few dayes ouerpassed, he brought his wife with him to the ships, his daughter and two or three children: his wife was very well fauoured, of meane stature, and very bashfull: shee had on her backe a long cloake of leather, with the furre side next to

<sup>80</sup> Like the word *prevent*, which, in its use three hundred years ago, meant simply and literally *going before*, so *depart* is here used where we should say *part with* or *spare*. New elements are added in the present use.

to her body, and before her a piece of the same: about her forehead shee had a bande of white Corall, and so had her husband many times: in her eares shee had bracelets of pearles hanging downe to her middle, whereof wee deliuered your worship a little bracelet, and those were of the bignes of good pease. The rest of her women of the better sort had pendants of copper hanging in either eare, and some of the children of the Kings brother and other noble men, haue fiae or fixe in either eare: he himselte had vpon his head a broad plate of golde, or copper,<sup>81</sup> for being vnpolished we knew not what mettall it should be, neither would he by any meanes suffer vs to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bow very easily. His apparell was as his wiues, onely the women weare their haire long on both sides, and the men but on one.<sup>82</sup> They are of colour yellowish, and their haire black

<sup>81</sup> There is no evidence that the Indians had the means of smelting copper ore. It has, however, of late been discovered that in the region of Lake Superior they fabricated a variety of implements of use and ornament from the "native copper" which is there found in great quantities. It is highly probable that the ornaments found in use at Roanoke Island came from the same region, having passed from tribe to tribe by way of exchange. *Vide Pre-historic Copper Implements*, by the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, Boston, 1879; *Champlain's Voyages*, Prince Society ed., Vol. II. p. 237, note 364 *Collections of Wisconsin Historical Society*, Vol. VII. pp. 70-73; Vol. VIII. pp. 140-173. See also Hariot's remarks on the subject, *postea*, p. 200.

<sup>82</sup> In reading this description of the dress and ornaments of the natives, it must be borne in mind that the occasion was one of ceremony, and the Indians

doubtless appeared at their best. When our fathers, in the early part of the next century, came to the New England shores, the natives had passed through a period of wasting sickness, and were in a reduced condition. The Indians first encountered by the colonists of Plymouth were in a rude state as to dress. But everywhere, north and south, there were occasions of show and festival, when the choicer ornaments were brought out and displayed.

In *Champlain's Voyages* we read of the Indians in Canada and along the coast southward. At the mouth of the Saco River the narrative tells us: "The natives were gentle and amiable, graceful in figure, agile in movement, and exhibited unusual taste, dressing their hair in a variety of twists and braids, intertwined with ornamental feathers." This was in 1605. *Champlain's Voyages*, Boston, Prince Society ed., Vol. I. p. 49.

black for the most part, and yet we saw children that had very fine aburne and chesnut coloured haire.<sup>83</sup>

After that these women had bene there, there came downe from all parts great store of people, bringing with them leather, corall, diuers kindes of dies, very excellent, and exchanged with us: but when Granganimeo the kings brother was present, none durst trade but himselfe: except such as weare red pieces of copper on their heads like himselfe: for that is the difference betweene the noble men, and the gouernours of countreys, and the meaner sort. And we both noted there, and you haue vnderstood since by these men, which we brought home,<sup>84</sup> that no people in the worlde cary more respect to their King, Nobilitie, and Gouernours, then these doe. The Kings brothers wife, when she came to vs, as she did many times, was followed with forty or fifty women alwayes: and when she came into the shippe, she left them all on land, sauing her two daughters, her nurse and one or two more. The kings brother alwayes kept this order, as many boates as he would come withall to the shippes,

<sup>83</sup> It is claimed that the children with fine "aburne and chesnut coloured haire" were to be accounted for by reason of a ship, manned with white people, which was cast away on that coast, years before. The sailors, which were saved, mingled with the natives for some years: but at length, as stated by the natives, they attempted to leave in such boats as could be there constructed. They probably perished, as these boats were found driven back upon the coast. *Vide Hawks' History of North Carolina*, 1857, Vol. I. p. 81.

<sup>84</sup> "By these two men which we brought home," reference is made to

two of the natives, named Manteo and Wanchese, who went to England with the expedition and afterward returned to their native country. As they acquired the power to communicate their thoughts in the English language, they imparted not a little information upon the customs of their people and on the events of their past history. They explained how it happened that there were iron instruments in the possession of the natives. These were not of native construction or origin, but were procured from a vessel wrecked on their coast. *Vide Hawks' History of North Carolina*, 1857, Vol. I. p. 82.

shippes, so many fires would hee make on the shore a farre off, to the end we might vnderstand with what strength and company he approched. Their boates are made of one tree, either of Pine or of Pitch trees: a wood not commonly knowen to our people, nor found growing in England. They haue no edge-tooles to make them withall: if they haue any they are very fewe, and those it seemes they had twentie yeres since, which, as those two men declared, was out of a wrake which happened vpon their coast of some Christian ship, being beaten that way by some storme and outragious weather, whereof none of the people were saued, but only the ship, or some part of her being cast vpon the sand, out of whose sides they drew the nayles and the spikes, and with those they made their best instruments. The manner of making their boates is thus: they burne downe some great tree, or take such as are winde fallen, and putting gumme and rofen vpon one side thereof, they set fire into it, and when it hath burnt it hollow, they cut out the coale with their shels, and euer where they would burne it deeper or wider they lay on gummes, which burne away the timber, and by this meanes they fashion very fine boates, and such as will transport twentie men. Their oares are like scoopes, and many times they set with long poles, as the depth serueth.

The Kings brother had great liking of our armour, a sword, and diuers other things which we had: and offered to lay a great boxe of pearle in gage for them: but we refused it for this time, because we would not make them knowe, that we esteemed thereof, vntill we had vnderstoode in what  
places

places of the countrey the pearle grew: which now your Worshippe doeth very well vnderstand.

He was very iust of his promise: for many times we deliuered him merchandize vpon his word, but euer he came within the day and performed his promise. He sent vs euery day a brafe or two of fat Bucks, Conies, Hares, Fish the best of the world. He sent vs diuers kindes of fruites, Melons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Gourdes, Pease, and diuers rootes, and fruites very excellent good, and of their Countrey corne, which is very white, faire and well tasted, and groweth three times in fve moneths: in May they sow, in Iuly they reape, in Iune they sow, in August they reape: in Iuly they sow, in September they reape: onely they cast the corne into the ground, breaking a little of the soft turfe with a wodden mattock, or pickaxe; our selues prooued the soile, and put some of our Pease in the ground, and in tenne dayes they were of fourteene ynches high: they haue also Beanes very faire of diuers colours and wonderfull plentie: some growing naturally, and some in their gardens, and so haue they both wheat and oates.

The soile is the most plentiful, sweete, fruitfull and wholesome of all the worlde: there are aboute fourteene feuerall sweete smelling timber trees, and the most part of their vnderwoods are Bayes and such like: they haue those Okes that we haue, but farre greater and better. After they had bene diuers times aboard our shippes, my selfe, with seuen more went twentie mile into the Riuer, that runneth towarde the Citie of Skicoak, which Riuer they call Occam: and the euening following wee came to an Island which  
they



they call Raonoak,<sup>85</sup> distant from the harbour by which we entered, seven leagues: and at the North end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turnpike very artificially; when wee came towardes it, standing neere vnto the waters side, the wife of Granganimo the Kings brother came running out to meete vs very cheerfully and friendly, her husband was not then in the village; some of her people shee commanded to drawe our boate on shore for the beating of the billoe: others she appointed to cary vs on their backs to the dry ground, and others to bring our oares into the house for feare of stealing. When we were come into the vtter roome, hauing five roomes in her house, she caused vs to sit downe by a great fire, and after tooke off our clothes and washed them, and dryed them againe: some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feete in warme water, and she herselfe tooke great paines

<sup>85</sup> *Raonoak*, or Roanoke, was seven leagues north of the place where they first anchored their ships. This island, which still bears the name of Roanoke, lies between Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds, and was the home of the king and of Granganimeo, the king's brother. "Myselfe with seven more went twentie miles into the Riuer." The river here was the comparatively narrow body of water lying between the outer break-water and the island. This visit seems to have been by invitation. Ample provision was made for their coming, and their reception was certainly generous. "At the north end thereof (*i. e.* the island) was a village of nine houses built of cedar and fortified round about with

sharpe trees to keepe out their enemies, and the entrance into it was like a turnpike very artificially."

This was really a fortified town, such as the Indians were wont to construct north and south. The stronghold where the Pequots took refuge, in what is now Stonington, Connecticut, in 1637, or the similar one in what is now Kingston, Rhode Island, where King Philip and his men were attacked in 1675, were of the same general character. Among the Six Nations in New York was one of vastly greater extent than either of those just mentioned. *Vide also Champlain's Voyages*, Boston, Prince Society ed., 1880, Vol. I. pp. 131, 132.

paines to see all things ordered in the best maner shee could, making great haste to dresse some meate for vs to eate.

After we had thus dryed ourselues, she brought vs into the inner roome, where shee set on the boord standing along the house, some wheate like surmentie, sodden Venison, and roasted, fish sodden, boyled and roasted, Melons rawe, and sodden, rootes of diuers kindes and diuers fruites: their drinke is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth, they drinke wine, and for want of caskes to keepe it, all the yere after they drink water, but it is sodden with Ginger in it and blacke Sinamon, and sometimes Saffaphras, and diuers other wholesome, and medicinable hearbes and trees. We were entertained with all loue and kindnesse, and with as much bountie, after their maner, as they could possibly deuise. We found the people most gentle, louing and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as liue after the maner of the golden age. The people onely care howe to defend themselues from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselues with such meat as the foile affoordeth: there meate is very well sodden and they make broth very sweet and fauorie: their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white and sweete, their dishes are wooden platters of sweet timber: within the place where they feede was their lodging, and within that their Idoll, which they worship, of whome they speake incredible things. While we were at meate, there came in at the gates two or three men with their bowes and arrowes from hunting, whom when wee espied, we beganne to looke one towards another, and offered to reach our weapons: but assoone as shee espied our mistrust, shee was very much mooued, and caused some

of her men to runne out, and take away their bowes and arrowes and breake them, and withall beate the poore fellowes out of the gate againe. When we departed in the euening and would not tary all night she was very sorry, and gaue vs into our boate our supper halfe dressed, pottes and all, and brought vs to our boate side, in which wee lay all night, remoouing the same a prettie distance from the shoare: she perceiuing our ielousie, was much grieued, and sent diuers men and thirtie women, to sit all night on the banke side by vs, and sent vs into our boates fīue mattes to couer vs from the raine, vsing very many wordes, to entreate vs to rest in their houses: but because wee were fewe men, and if wee had miscaried, the voyage had bene in very great danger, wee durst not aduenture any thing, although there was no cause of doubt: for a more kinde and louing people there can not be found in the worlde, as farre as we haue hitherto had triall.

Beyond this Island there is the maine lande, and ouer against this Island falleth into this spacious water, the great riuer called Occam by the inhabitants on which standeth a towne called Pomeiock, & fixe dayes iourney from the same is situate their greatest citie, called Ski-coak, which this people affirme to be very great: but the Sauages were neuer at it, only they speake of it by the report of their fathers and other men, whom they haue heard affirme it to bee aboute one houres iourney about.

Into this riuer falleth another great riuer, called Cipo,<sup>88</sup> in which

<sup>88</sup> *Cipo*, written sometimes cibou and means river, and in this sense seems to chibou, is doubtles the same word, and have been used among the Indians in various

which there is found great store of Muskles in which there are pearles: likewise there descendeth into this Occam, another riuer, called Nomopana, on the one side whereof standeth a great towne called Chawanook, and the Lord of that towne and countrey is called Pooneno: this Pooneno is not subiect to the King of Wingandacoa, but is a free Lord: beyond this country is there another king, whom they call Menatonon, and these three kings are in league with each other. Towards the Southwest, foure dayes iourney is situate a towne called Sequotan, which is the Southermost towne of Wingandacoa, neere vnto which, fixe and twentie yeres past there was a ship cast away, whereof some of the people were saued, and those were white people whom the countrey people perferued.

And after ten dayes remaining in an out Island vnhabited, called Wocokon, they with the help of some of the dwellers of Sequotan fastened two boates of the countrey together & made mastes vnto them and sailes of their shirtes, and hauing taken into them such victuals as the countrey yeelded, they departed after they had remained in this out Island 3 weekes: but shortly after it seemed they were cast away, for the boates were found vpon the coast cast a land in another Island adioyning: other then these, there was neuer any people apparelled, or white of colour, either scene or heard of amongst these people, and these afore said were scene onely of the inhabitantes of Secotan, which appeared to be very true, for they wondred maruelously when we were amongst them

various parts of the continent. For Prince Society ed., Vol. I. p. 175, full illustration of the uses of this word, *note* 108.  
*vide Champlain's Voyages*, Boston,

them at the whiteness of our skins, ever coveting to touch our breasts, and to view the same. Besides they had our ships in marvellous admiration, & all things else were so strange unto them, as it appeared that none of them had ever seen the like. When we discharged any piece, were it but an hargubuz, they would tremble thereat for very feare and for the strangeness of the same: for the weapons which themselves use are bowes and arrowes: the arrowes are but of small canes, headed with a sharpe shell or tooth of a fish sufficient ynough to kill a naked man. Their swordes be of wood hardened: likewise they use wooden breastplates for their defence. They haue beside a kinde of club, in the end whereof they fasten the sharpe hornes of a stagge, or other beast. When they goe to warres they cary about with them their idol, of whom they aske counsell, as the Romans were wont of the Oracle of Apollo. They sing songs as they march towardes the battell in stead of drummes and trumpets: their warres are very cruell and bloody, by reason whereof, and of their ciuill dissentions which haue happened of late yeeres amongst them, the people are marvellously wasted, and in some places the countrey left desolate.

Adioyning to this countrey aforesaid called Secotan beginneth a countrey called Pomouik, belonging to another king whom they call Piamacum, and this king is in league with the next king adioyning towards the setting of the Sunne, and the countrey Newfiok, situate vpon a goodly riuer called Neus:<sup>87</sup> these kings haue mortall warre with Wingina king  
of

<sup>87</sup> Most of the Indian names contained in this narrative have been superseded in the modern nomenclature of the country, but the river Neuse still remains,

of Wingandacoa: but about two yeeres past there was a peace made betweene the King Piemacum, and the Lord of Secotan, as these men which we haue brought with vs to England, haue giuen vs to vnderstand: but there remaineth a mortall malice in the Secotanes, for many iniuries & slaughters done vpon them by this Piemacum. They inuited diuers men, and thirtie women of the best of his countrey to their towne to a feast: and when they were altogether merry, & praying before their Idoll, which is nothing els but a meer illusion of the deuill, the captaine or Lord of the town came suddenly vpon thē, and slewe them euery one, reseruing the women and children: and these two haue oftentimes since perswaded vs to surprize Piemacum his towne, hauing promised and assured vs, that there will be found in it great store of commodities. But whether their perswasion be to the ende they may be reuenged of their enemies, or for the loue they beare to vs, we leaue that to the tryall hereafter.

Beyond this Island called Roanoak, are maine Islands very plentifull of fruits and other naturall increase, together with many townes, and villages, along the side of the continent, some bounding vpon the Islands, and some stretching vp further into the land.

When we first had sight of this countrey, some thought the first land we saw to bee the continent: but after we entred into the Hauen, we saw before vs another mighty long Sea: for there lyeth along the coast a tracte of Islands, two hundredreth

remains, as does also Roanoke, and the name Chowan, belonging to one of the rivers emptying into Albemarle Sound, as also to one of the counties of North Carolina.

dreth miles in length, adioyning to the Ocean fea, and betweene the Islands, two or three entrances: when you are entred betweene them, these Islands being very narrow for the most part, as in most places fixe miles broad, in some places lesse, in few more, then there appeareth another great Sea, containing in bredth in some places, forty, and in some fifty, in some twenty miles ouer, before you come vnto the continent: and in this inclosed Sea there are aboue an hundred Islands of diuers bignesses, whereof one is fixeene miles long, at which we were, finding it a most pleasant and fertile ground; replenished with goodly Cedars, and diuers other sweete woods, full of Corrants, of flaxe, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leasure to view. Besides this Island there are many, as I haue sayd, some of two, or three, of foure, of fve miles, some more, some lesse, most beautifull and pleasant to behold, replenished with Deere, Conies, Hares and diuers beafts, and about them the goodliest and best fish in the world, and in greatest abundance.<sup>88</sup>

Thus, Sir, we haue acquainted you with the particulars of our discouery made this present voyage, as farre foorth as the shortnesse of the time we there continued would affoord vs to take viewe of: and so contenting our selues with this seruice

<sup>88</sup> Considering that this expedition of Amidas and Barlowe remained on the coast only about eight weeks, the description here given of the whole North Carolina coast is remarkable for its accuracy. If any one will look upon the map he will see that they could hardly have described it more correctly if they had been years in the country. The easternmost point is the stormy Hat-

teras, with its sand shoals running far out into the ocean, making it the most dangerous locality on all the Southern coast. North and south from Hatteras for long distances nature seems to have built up this narrow sandy breakwater to soften the action of the storms on the main coast. Behind this far-extended breakwater lies an equally long and comparatively quiet sea.

uice at this time, which wee hope here after to inlarge, as occasion and assistance shalbe giuen, we resolued to leaue the countrey, and to apply ourselues to returne for England, which we did accordingly, and arriued safely in the West of England about the middest of September.

And whereas wee haue aboue certified you of the countrey taken in possession by vs to her Maiesties vse, and so to yours by her Maiesties grant, wee thought good for the better assurance thereof to record some of the particular Gentlemen & men of accompt, who then were present, as witnesses of the same, that thereby all occasion of cauill to the title of the countrey, in her Maiesties behalfe may be preuented, which otherwise, such as like not the action may vse and pretend, whose names are :

Master PHILIP AMADAS, } *Captaines.*  
Master ARTHUR BARLOW, }

William Greeneuile, Iohn Wood, Iames Browewich,  
Henry Greene, Benjamin Wood, Simon Ferdinando,  
Nicholas Petman, Iohn Hewes, *of the companie.*

We brought home also two of the Sauages being lustie men, whose names were Wanchefe and Manteo.









## THE SECOND VOYAGE TO AMERICA

UNDER THE CHARGE AND DIRECTION OF

SIR WALTER RALEGH, KNIGHT.

1585.

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He 9. day of April, in the yeere abouefayd, we departed from Plymmouth, our Fleete consisting of the number of seuen sailes, to wit, the Tyger, of the burden of seuen score tunnes, a Flie-boat called the Roe-bucke, of the like burden, the Lyon of a hundred tunnes or thereabouts, the Elizabeth, of fiftie tunnes, and the Dorothie, a small barke: whereunto were also adiointed for speedy seruices, two small pinnesses. The principall Gentlemen of our companie, were these, M. Ralph Lane, M. Tomas Candish, M. Iohn Arundell, M. Raymund, M. Stukeley, M. Bremige, M. Vincent, and M. Iohn Clarke, and diuers others, whereof some were Captaines, and other some Assistants for counsell, and good directions in the voyage.<sup>80</sup>

The

<sup>80</sup> Sir RICHARD GRENVILLE, the commander of this second expedition, was of the kindred of Sir Walter Raleigh.

In early life he served in the wars against the Turks, and afterwards in Ireland. Then he was made sheriff of Cork. In

The 14. day of Aprill, wee fell with Lancerota and Fortuentura, Isles of the Canaries, and from thence we continued

1571 he became a member of Parliament. Afterwards he was sheriff of Cornwall, and was again elected to Parliament. He received knighthood from Queen Elizabeth.

While on his way to America, it will be noticed, he captured two Spanish frigates, and on his return also he took a rich Spanish ship, and carried her home as a prize.

In the year 1591 he had a most extraordinary sea-fight with Spanish vessels off the Azores, in which he maintained the contest for many hours against overwhelming numbers, sinking four Spanish vessels and killing about a thousand Spaniards, until there was hardly a man on board his ship that was not killed or wounded, when he was obliged to give up the contest. He died, from the wounds received, three days after this fight. He was born in 1540, and died, at the age of fifty-one, in 1591.

The account of this second voyage was chiefly furnished to Mr. Hakluyt by Mr. Ralph Lane. It is not unlikely that Sir Richard Grenville wrote that small part of it covering the time until his own return to England in October, 1585.

The following is from the *Calendar of English State Papers* :—

OCT. 29, 1585. "Sir Richard Greynville to fame (Walsingham). Acquaints him with the success of his voyage. Has performed the action directed and took possession and peopled a new country, and stored it with cattle, fruits, and plants. The commodities of the country are such as his cousin Raleigh advertised of. In his way home he captured a Spanish ship returning from St. Domingo laden with ginger and sugar."—*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1581-1590, p. 281.

Governor Ralph Lane had no very good opinion of Sir Richard Grenville, as will be seen by the following :—

SEPT. 8, 1585. "Ralph Lane to Sec. Walsingham. Has thought good to advertise him concerning Sir R. Greenesfelde's complaints against sundry gentlemen of this service, and particularly against Mr. Candyse, their high marshal, Edw. Gorge, Francis Brooke, their Treasurer, and Capt. Clerck. Certifies to their faithfulness and industry, and to the tyrannical conduct of Grenville from first to last, through whose great default the action has been made most painful and most perilous. Refers him to an ample discourse of the whole voyage in the hands of the bearer, their treasurer, directed to Sir Walter Raleigh, wherein Grenville's intolerable pride, insatiable ambition, and proceedings toward them all, and to Lane in particular, are set forth. Has had so much experience of Grenville, as to desire to be free from the place where he is to carry any authority in chief. They have discovered a kind of Gynneye wheat that yields both corn and sugar, of which their physician hath sent an assay to Sir Walter Raleigh. There are fertile and pleasant provinces in the main land, populated only by savages, fit to be civilly and christianly inhabited. Means, with the favour of God, to visit them and pass some part of the winter in their provinces, 140 miles within the main."—*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1574-1660, p. 3.

RALPH LANE was one of the most important men employed by Raleigh in these voyages to America. He came from a family of rank, being the son of Sir Ralph Lane, of Orlingbury, Northamptonshire, England, and was himself knighted in 1593 for valuable military services

tinued our course for Dominica, on of the Antiles of the West India, wherewith we fell the 7. day of May, and the 10. day following wee came to an anker at Cotefa, a little Iland situate neere to the Iland of S. Iohn, where we landed, and refreshed our selues all that day.

The 12. day of May wee came to an anker in the Bay of Moskito, in the Island of S. Iohn, within a Faulcon shot of the shoare: where our Generall Sir Richard Greeneuil, and the most part of our companie landed, and began to fortifie very neere to the Sea side: the riuier ran by one side of our forte, and the other two sides were inuironed with woods.

The 13. day we began to build a new pinnesse within the Fort, with the timber that wee then felled in the countrey, some part whereof we set three miles vp in the land, and brought it to our Fort vpon trucks, the Spaniard not daring to make or offer resistance.

The

services in Ireland. (For clearness of judgment, for manly integrity, for breadth and comprehension, he stands out prominently in this effort to plant a colony in America.) He was evidently on friendly and familiar terms with Mr. Richard Hakluyt, for in a letter to him, written in 1585, he says: "Thus good M. Hakluyt and M. H. I haue ioyned you both in one letter of remembrance as two that I loue dearly well." Who M. H. is we do not know, but the language as applied to both is indicative of intimate friendship. We shall have abundant opportunities in the following pages to study the character and conduct of Lane. *Vide postea.*

THOMAS CANDISH was Thomas Cavendish, whose name, from his peculiar and notorious life, still keeps its place in history. He came of a Suffolk family of considerable distinction, and was put in possession of a good fortune, which he

soon exhausted by his youthful extravagances. To repair his losses he took to chasing and fighting Spaniards on the high seas, which was then a fashionable occupation. He built and manned two ships for this purpose, in the year 1586. He grew rich again by this predatory life, taking among other prizes a single ship bearing £60,000 of golden treasure. He returned home with his new riches: but in three years they were all gone, and he started forth again on his money-making ventures. Storms and various misfortunes, however, attended this second expedition, and he died of grief and disappointment on the coast of Brazil in 1592.

M. STUKELEY was of the kindred of Raleigh, and was the father of Sir Lewis Stukeley, who, nearly twenty years later, played the part of spy and informer, and became the tool of King James in working out Raleigh's destruction.

The 16. day there appeared vnto vs out of the woods eight horsemen of the Spaniards, about a quarter of a mile from our Fort, staying about halfe an houre in viewing our forces: but assoone as they saw ten of our shot marching towards them, they presently retired into the woods.

The 19. day Master Candish, who had bene separated from our fleete in a storme in the Bay of Portugall, arriued at Coteva, within the sight of the Tiger: we thinking him a farre off to haue bene either a Spaniard or Frenchman of warre, thought it good to weigh ankers, and to goe roome with him, which the Tiger did, and discerned him at last to be one of our consorts, for ioy of whose comming our ships discharged their ordinance, and saluted him according to the maner of the Seas.

The 22. day twentie other Spanish horsemen shewed themselues to vs vpon the other side of the riuer: who being seene, our Generall dispatched 20. footemen towards them, and two horsemen of ours, mounted vpon Spanish horses, which wee before had taken in the time of our being on the Iland: they shewed to our men a flagge of truce, and made signes to haue a parle with vs: whereupon two of our men went halfe of the way vpon the sands, and two of theirs came and met them: the two Spaniards offered very great salutations to our men, but began according to their Spanish proud humors, to expostulate with them about their arriual and fortifying in their countrey, who notwithstanding by our men's discreet answers were so cooled, that whereas they were told, that our principall intention was onely to furnish our selues with water and victuales, and other necessaries, whereof we stood in neede, which we craued might be  
yeelded

yeelded vs with faire and friendly meanes, otherwise our resolution was to practise force, and to relieue ourselues by the sworde the Spaniards in conclusion seeing our men so resolute, yeelded to our requestes with large promises of all curtesie, and great fauour, and so our men and theirs departed.

The 23. day our pinnesse was finished, and lanced: which being done, our Generall with his Captaines and Gentlemen, marched vp into the Countrey about the space of 4 miles, where in a plaine marsh they stayed expecting the comming of the Spaniards, according to their promise, to furnish vs with victuals: who keeping their olde custome of periurie and breach of promise, came not, whereupon our Generall fired the woods thereabout, and so retired to our Fort, which the same day was fired also, and each man came aboard to be ready to set saile the next morning.

The 29. day wee set saile from Saint Iohns, being many of vs stung before vpon shoare with the Muskitos: but the same night wee tooke a Spanish Frigat, which was forsaken by the Spaniards vpon the sight of vs, and the next day in the morning very early we tooke another Frigat, with good and rich freight, and diuers Spaniards of account in her, which afterwards wee ransomed for good round summes, and landed them in S. Iohns.

The 26. day our Lieutenant Master Ralph Lane went in one of the Frigats which we had taken, to Roxo bay vpon the Southwest side of Saint Iohns, to fetch salt, being thither conducted by a Spanish Pilot: as soone as he arriued there, hee landed with his men to the number of 20. and intrenched himselfe vpon the sandes immediatly, compassing  
one

one of their falte hils within the trench: who being seene of the Spaniards, there came downe towards him two or three troopes of horsemen and footmen, who gaue him the looking, and gazing on, but durst not come neere him to offer any resistance, so that Master Lane maugre their troops, caryed their falte aboard and laded his Frigat, and so returned againe to our fleete the 29. day, which road at S. Germans Bay. The same day we all departed, and the next day arriued in the Iland of Hispaniola.

#### JUNE.

THE 1. day of Iune, we anchored at Isabella, on the north side of Hispaniola.

The 3. day of Iune, the Gouvernour of Isabella, and Capitaine of the Port de Plata, being certified by the reports of fundry Spaniards, who had beene well intertained aboard our shippes by our Generall, that in our fleete were many braue and gallant Gentlemen, who greatly desired to see the Gouvernour aforesayd, he thereupon sent gentle commendations to our Generall, promising within few dayes to come to him in person, which he perfourmed accordingly.

The 5. day the aforesayd Gouvernour accompanied with a lusty Fryer, and twenty other Spaniards, with their seruants, and Negroes, came downe to the Sea side, where our ships road at anker, who being seene, our Generall manned immediatly the most part of his boates with the chiefe men of our Fleete, euery man appointed, and furnished in the best fort: at the landing of our Generall, the Spanish Gouvernour receiued him very courteously, and the Spanish gentlemen  
saluted

saluted our English Gentlemen, and their inferiour sort did also salute our Souldiers and Sea men, liking our men, and likewise their qualities, although at the first they seemed to stand in feare of vs, and of so many of our boates whereof they desired that all might not land their men, yet in the end, the courtesies that passed on both sides were so great, that all feare and mistrust on the Spaniards part was abandoned.

In the meane time while our English Generall and the Spanish Gouvernour discoursed betwixt them of diuers matters, as of the state of the Countrey, the multitude of the Townes and people, and the commodities of the Iland, our men provided two banquetting houses couered with greene boughes, the one for the Gentlemen, the other for the seruants, and a sumptuous banquet was brought in serued by vs all in plate, with the sound of trumpets, and consort of musicke, wherewith the Spaniards were more then delighted. Which banquet being ended, the Spaniardes in recompence of our courtesie, caused a great heard of white buls, and kyne to be brought together from the mountaines, and appoynted for euery Gentleman and Captaine that would ride, a horse ready sadled, and then singled out three of the best of them to be hunted by horsemen after their maner, so that the pastime grewe very pleafant for the space of three houres, wherein all three of the beasts were killed, whereof one tooke the Sea, and there was slaine with a musket. After this sport, many rare presents and gifts were giuen and bestowed on both parts, and the next day wee played the Marchants in bargaining with them by way of trucke and exchange of diuers of their commodities, as horses, mares, kine, buls, goates,



goates, swine, sheepe, bull-hides, fugar, ginger, pearle, tabacco, and such like commodities of the Iland.

The 7. day we departed with great good will from the Spaniards from the Iland of Hispaniola: but the wiser sort doe impute this great shew of friendship, and courtesie vsed towards vs by the Spaniards rather to the force that wee were of, and the vigilancie, and watchfulnesse that was amongst vs, then to any heartie good will, or sure friendly intertainment: for doubtlesse if they had bene stronger then wee, wee might haue looked for no better curtesie at their handes, then Master Iohn Haukins receiued at Saint Iohn de Vllua, or Iohn Oxnam neere the streights of Dariene, and diuers others of our Countrymen in other places.

The 8. day we ankered at a small Iland to take Seales, which in that place wee understood to haue bene in great quantitie, where the Generall and certaine others with him in the pinnesse were in very great danger to haue bene all cast away, but by the helpe of God they escaped the hafard, and returned aboard the Admirall in safetie.

The 9. day we arriued and landed in the Isle of Caycos, in which Iland we searched for falte-pondes, vpon the aduertisement and information of a Portugall: who in deede abused our Generall and vs, deseruing a halter for his hire, if it had so pleased vs.

The 12. we ankered at Guanima, and landed.

The 15. and 16. we ankered and landed at Cyguateo.

The 20. we fell with the maine of Florida.<sup>90</sup>

The

<sup>90</sup> At the time of these early voyages sailing northward from the West Indies to America, it must be borne in mind called the mainland, first reached on the that our modern divisions of territory left, Florida. But the name Florida were entirely unknown. The navigator had an indefinite reach. How far upward

The 23. we were in great danger of a wracke on a breach called the Cape of Feare.

The 24. we came to anker in a harbour, where wee caught in one tyde so much fish as would haue yeelded vs twentie pounds in London: this was our first landing in Florida.

The

ward it extended was wholly undetermined. The land north of that, after Raleigh's first expedition, was called Virginia. But this last was as much without fixed boundaries as Florida. It reached indefinitely northward. Even after the settlement of New England began, thirty-five years later, in sending out ships to Virginia it was often doubtful whether they meant the real Virginia on and around the James River, or that indefinite, unbounded Virginia which was in the minds of Raleigh, Amadas, Barlowe, Lane, and others of their time.

"Florida is the next adioyning to the Indies which vnprosperously was attempted to bee planted by the French, A Country farre bigger then England, Scotland, France and Ireland. . . . Virginia is no Ile (as many doe imagine) but part of the Continent adioyning to Florida; whose bounds may be stretched to the magnitude thereof without offence to any Christian inhabitant. For from the degrees of 30. to 45. his Majestie hath granted his Letters Pattents, the coast extending South-west and North-east aboute 1500 miles, but to follow it aboard the shore may well be 2000, at the least: of which 20 miles is the most giues entrance into the Bay of Chisapeake where is the London plantation. . . . And Southward adioyneth that part discovered at the charge of Sir Walter Rawley, by Sir Ralph Lane and that learned Mathematician Mr. Thomas Heryot. . . . By this you may perceiue how much they erre, that think euery one which hath bin at Virginia vnderstandeth or knowes what Virginia is."

*Description of New England*, by Captain John Smith, Veazie's ed., Boston, 1865, pp. 21, 22.

William Strachey bounded Virginia in 1612, as follows. This was after the present Virginia began to be developed, but it included all North Carolina and a vast region besides. He says:—

"Virginia Brittannia is a country in America; yt lyeth betwene the degrees of 30 and 44 of the north latitude; the bowndes whereof may be thus layd: on the east runneth the great ocean, or mayne Atlantique Sea; on the south side Florida; on the north Nova Francia; as for the west, the lymitts thereof are unknowne, only it is supposed there maye be found the discent into the South Sea, by the Spaniards called Mar del zur, so meeting with the doubtful north-west passage which leads into the east, to China, Cathay, Giapan, the Moluccas," &c. *Historie of Travaile into Virginia Brittania*, by William Strachey, Hakluyt Society, 1849, beginning of Chap. 1.

Josselyn may be cited likewise on this same general topic:—

"Before I pursue my voyage to an end, I shall give you to understand what Countrey *New England* is. *New England* is that part of America which together with *Virginia Maryland* and *Nova Scotia* were by the *Indians* called (by one name) *Wingadocoe*: after the discovery by Sir *Walter Rawleigh* they were named *Virginia* and so remained until King James divided the Countrey into provinces." *Two Voyages to New England*, Veazie's ed., Boston, 1865, p. 36.

The 26. we came to anker at Wocokon.

The 29. wee weighed anker to bring the Tyger into the harbour, where through the vnskilfulnesse of the Master whose name was Fernando, the Admirall strooke on ground and funke.

### JULY.

THE 3. we sent word of our arriuing at Wococon, to Wigginsa at Roanoak.

The 6. M. John Arundel was sent to the maine, and Man-teo with him: and Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten the same day were sent to Croatoan, where the found two of our men left there with 30. other by Captaine Reymond, some 20. dayes before.

The 8. Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten returned, with two of our men found by them, to vs at Wocokon.

The 11. day the Generall accompanied in his Tilt boate with Master Iohn Arundell, Master Stukeley, and diuers other Gentlemen, Master Lane, Master Candish, Master Harriot,<sup>91</sup> and twentie others in the new pinnesse, Captaine Amadas,

<sup>91</sup> THOMAS HARIOT, or Harriott, who accompanied Sir Richard Grenville in his voyage to America and who remained over the winter, will come more particularly under our notice in connection with the third voyage. He was a native of Oxford, born in 1560, and was educated at the College of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. He was an eminent mathematician and astronomer, and is credited with important discoveries in mathematical science. He was living in the family of Sir Walter Raleigh at the time this second expedition was ready to sail, being then twenty-five years of age.

His account of the New World, entitled *A Briefe and True Report, &c.*, makes one of the most important papers in this volume. It was first published in London in 1588, and afterwards published in Latin, by De Bry, in France, in 1590. It was printed also in French and German. When Harriot returned to England, after an absence of two years, he gained the notice of Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who fixed upon him a yearly pension of £120, and enabled him to pursue his favorite studies.

Amadas, Captaine Clarke with ten others in a shipboat, Francis Brooke, and Iohn White in another ship-boate, passed ouer the water from Wococon to the maine land victualled for eight dayes, in which voyage we first discouered the townes of Pomeiko, Aquascogoc and Secotan, and also the great lake called by the Sauages Paquique, with diuers other places, and so returned with that discouery to our Fleete.

The 12. we came to the Towne of Pomeiok.

The 13. we passed by water to Aquascogok.

The 15. we came to Secotan, and were well entertained there of the Sauages.

The 16. we returned thence, and one of our boates with the Admirall was sent to Aquascogok, to demaund a silver cup which one of the Sauages had stollen from vs, and not receiuing it according to his promise, wee burnt, and spoyled their corne, and Towne, all the people being fled.

The 18. we returned from the discouery of Secotan, and the same day came aboard our Fleete ryding at Wococon.

The 21. our Fleete ankering at Wococon, we wayed anker for Hatorafke.

The 27. our Fleete ankered at Hatorafk, and there we rested.

The 29. Grangino brother to King Wingina came aboard the Admirall, and Manteo<sup>22</sup> with him.

#### AUGUST.

<sup>22</sup> Manteo, before noticed, was the Indian who, in company with Wanchese, another native, went to England in the summer of 1584, on the return of Captains Amidas and Barlow. After spending the winter in England, they returned in the ships of Sir Richard Grenville in the spring of 1585. Manteo always proved faithful to the English, and was really of very great service to them in various ways. Wanchese, on the other hand, became a leader or assistant leader in a plot against the English, known as the "Conspiracy of Pemisipan." Pemisipan,

## AUGUST.

The 2. the Admirall was sent to Weapomeiok.<sup>98</sup>

The 5. M. Iohn Arundell was sent for England.

The 25. our Generall wayed anker, and fet faile for England.

About the 31. he tooke a Spanish ship of 300. tunne richly loaden, boording her with a boate made with boards of chests,

now, by a change of name, is the same as Wingina, the king so often spoken of by Barlow in his account of the first voyage. This Wingina, however, was not seen by the men of that first expedition because of illness from wounds, but all their intercourse was through the king's brother. Wanchese was active in this company, but what at last became of him is not known.

<sup>98</sup> Weapomeiok is supposed to have been just north of Albemarle Sound, in what is now Perquimans or Pasquotank County, North Carolina.

The Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D.D., LL.D., in his *History of North Carolina*, has done as much perhaps as any one to find and fix the places covered by these Indian names. A few of them have already been pointed out, but more may be mentioned.

Lake Paquope is supposed to be the large inland body of water, now known as Lake Matamoras, in Hyde County, North Carolina, a few miles back from Pamlico Sound.

The river Nomopana is believed to be the present Chowan River, emptying into Albemarle Sound. The river Occanee seems to have been the narrow strip of salt water running along the east side of Roanoke Island.

Aquatogoc was on the Neuse River, some little way up from its mouth.

Wocokon is the present Ocracoke Inlet, twelve or fifteen miles south of Cape Hatteras.

Cape Hatteras itself was at first Cape Amadas, in honor of one of the captains in the first expedition.

Cape Fear bore this name before the expedition of 1585 arrived, as appears from the following sentence in this published account of the expedition: "The 23 we were in great danger of a wreck on a breach called the Cape of Fear." This cape is near the southern part of North Carolina.

Croatoan, or Croatan, was an island some miles south of Ocracoke Inlet, in what is now Carteret County, North Carolina.

Secotan, or Sequotan, was reached from Ocracoke Inlet by sailing across Pamlico Sound and up the short but wide body of water known as the Bay River. It was near the line separating Craven and Beaufort Counties, North Carolina.

Pomeiok, which seems to have been the chief town of the Indians called the Newfioks, was on or near the Neuse River as one went from Sequotan, the spot where now stands the town of Newbern, North Carolina.

There is a map in De Bry's work, a fac-simile of which may be found in the first volume of Dr. Francis Hawks's *History*

chefts, which fell afunder, and funke at the ships fide, affoone as euer he and his men were out of it.<sup>84</sup>

The 10. of September, by foule weather the Generall then shipped in the prize, loft fight of the Tyger.

OCTOBER.

THE 6. the Tyger fell with the Landes end, and the same day came to anker at Falmouth.

The 18. the Generall came with the prize to Plymmouth, and was courteously receiued by diuers of his worshipfull friends.

*The names of those as well Gentlemen as others, that remained one whole yeere in Virginia, vnder the Gouvernment of Master Ralph Lane.<sup>86</sup>*

Master Philip Amadas,	Edward Ketcheman.	Captaine Vaughan.
Admiral of the country.	Christopher Lowde.	Master Kendall.
Master Hariot.	Ieremie Man.	Master Prideox.
Master Acton.	Iames Mafon.	Robert Holecroft.
Master Edward Stafford.	Dauid Salter.	Rife Courtney.
Edward Nugen.	Richard Ireland.	Master Hugh Rogers.
Edward Kelley.	Thomas Luddington.	Master Thomas Haruie.
Iohn Costigo.	Master Maruyn.	Master Snelling.
Erasmus Clefs.	Master Gardiner.	Master Anthony Ruffe.
		Master Allyne.

*History of North Carolina*, in which these and many other Indian towns and localities are laid down.

One thing, already hinted at, is here clearly shown. These early voyagers made all their travels and discoveries within the territory now known as North Carolina. No one of them had as yet

gone far enough north to pass what is now the southern boundary line of Virginia.

<sup>84</sup> Here we have evidence again that every English or Spanish ship failing the ocean at that period, if it chose so to do, might play the part of a privateer.

<sup>86</sup> It will be remembered that Grenville,

Maſter Allyne.	Dennis Barnes.	John Feuer.
Maſter Michael Polifon.	Iofeph Borges.	Daniel ———.
John Cage.	Dougham Gannes.	Thomas Taylor.
Thomas Parre.	William Tenche.	Richard Humfrey.
William Randes.	Randall Latham.	John Wright.
Geffery Churchman.	Thomas Hulme.	Gabriel North.
William Farthow.	Walter Mill.	Bennet Chappell.
John Taylor.	Richard Gilbert.	Richard Sare.
Philip Robyns.	Steuens Pomarie.	Iames Lacie.
Thomas Philips.	John Brocke.	Smolkin.
Valentine Beale.	Bennet Harrie.	Thomas Smart.
Thomas Foxe.	Iames Steuenson.	Robert.
Darby Glande.	Charles Steuenson.	John Euans.
Roger Large.	Edward Seclimore.	Silueſter Beching.
Humfrey Garden.	John Anwike.	Vincent Cheyne.
John Linſey.	Thomas Bookener.	Francis Whitton.
Thomas Rottenbury.	William Philips.	Rowland Griffyn.
Roger Deane.	Randall Mayne.	William Millard.
John Harris.	Iames Skinner.	John Twit.
Francis Norris.	George Eſeuens.	Chriſtopher Marshall.
Matthew Lyne.	John Chandelers.	Dauid Williams.
Edward Kettell.	Philip Blunt.	Nicholas Swabber.
Thomas Wiſſe.	Richard Poore.	Edward Chipping.
Robert Biſcombe.	Robert Yong.	Hance Watters.
William Backhouſe.	Marmaduke Conſtable.	Edward Barecombe.
William White.	Thomas Heſket.	Thomas Skeuelabs.
Henry Potkin.	William Waſſe.	William Walters.

*An*

ville, when he came from England, had in his fleet ſeven veſſels and two ſmall pinnaces. The major part of this fleet was left for the uſe of the men who were to remain in the country as explorers; and Captain Philip Amadas, who was maſter of one of the veſſels in the firſt expedition, but has been mentioned only once before in connection with this ſecond voyage, was made Admiral of the country, *i.e.* the care

and overſight of this little fleet was placed in his hands. Ralph Lane, who was afterwards knighted, was the Governor of the country, and Maſter Hariot was the ſcholar of the little company that was to paſs the winter in America. There are many familiar Engliſh names in this company of more than a hundred men, and ſome of them remain to this day, while others ſeem to have periſhed or to have become exceedingly rare.

*An extract of Master Ralph Lanes letter to M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire, and another Gentleman of the middle Temple, from Virginia.*

"IN the meane while you shall vnderstand, that since Sir Richard Greenuils departure from vs, as also before, we haue discouered the maine to be the goodliest soyle vnder the cope of heauen, so abounding with sweete trees, that bring such sundry rich and pleasant gummes, grapes of such greatnesse, yet wilde, as France, Spaine nor Italie haue no greater, so many sorts of Apothecarie drugs, such feuerall kindes of flaxe, & one kind like silke, the same gathered of a grasse, as common there, as grasse is here. And now within these few dayes we haue found here Maiz or Guinie wheate, whose eare yeeldeth corne for bread 400. vpon one eare, and the Cane maketh very good and perfect sugar, also Terra Samia, otherwise Terra sigillata. Besides that, it is the goodliest and most pleasing Territorie of the world: for the continent is of an huge and vnknown greatnesse, and very well peopled and towned, though sauagely, and the climate so wholsome, that wee had not one sicke since we toucht the land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but horses and kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure my selfe being inhabited with English, no realme in Christendome were comparable to it. For this already we finde, that what commodities soeuer Spaine, France, Italy, or the East partes doe yeeld vnto vs, in wines of all sortes, in oyles, in flaxe, in rosens, pitch, frankensence, corrans, sugers, and such like, these parts doe abound with the growth of them all, but being Sauages that possesse the land, they know no vse of the same. And sundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they the West or East Indies, haue, here wee finde great abundance of. The people naturally are most courteous and very desirous to haue clothes, but especially of course cloth rather then silke, course canuas they also like well of, but copper caryeth the price of all, so it be made red. Thus good M. Hakluyt and M. H. I haue ioyned you both in one letter of remembrance, as two that I loue dearly well, and commending me most heartily to you both, I commit you to the tuition of the Almightye. From the new Fort in Virginia, this third of September, 1585.

Your most assured friend

RALPH LANE.

*An*



*An account of the particularities of the employments of the English men left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greeneuille vnder the charge of Master Ralph Lane Generall of the same, from the 17. of August 1585. vntil the 18. of Iune 1586. at which time they departed the Countrey: sent and directed to Sir Walter Raleigh.*

THat I may proceede with order in this discourse, I thinke it requisite to diuide it into two parts. The first shall declare the particularities of such parts of the Countrey within the maine, as our weake number, and supply of things necessarie did inable vs to enter into the discouery of.

The second part shall fet downe the reasons generally mouing vs to resolue on our departure at the instant with the Generall Sir Francis Drake, and our common request for passage with him, when the barkes, pinnesses, and boates with the Masters and Mariners meant by him to bee left in the Countrey, for the supply of such, as for a further time meant to haue stayed there, were caryed away with tempest and foule weather: In the beginning whereof shall bee declared the conspiracie of Pemisapan, with the Sauages of the maine to haue cut vs off, &c.

*The first part declaring the particularities of the Countrey of Virginia.*

FIRST therefore touching the particularities of the Countrey, you shall vnderstand that our discouerie of the same hath beene extended from the Island of Roanoak, (the same hauing bene the place of our settlement or inhabitatiō) into the

the South, into the North, into the Northwest, and into the West.

The vttermost place to the Southward of any discouery was Secotan,<sup>66</sup> being by estimation fourescore miles distant from Roanoak. The passage from thence was through a broad sound within the mayne, the same being without kening of lande, and yet full of flats and shoalds: we had but one boate with foure oares to passe through the same, which boate could not carry aboue fifteene men with their furniture, baggage and victuall for seuen dayes at the most: and as for our pinnesse, besides that she drew too deep water for that shallow sound, she would not stirre for an oare: for these and other reasons (winter also being at hand) we thought good wholly to leaue the discouery of those parts vntill our stronger supply.

To the Northward our furthest discouery was to the Chese-pians,<sup>67</sup> distant from Roanoak about 130. miles, the passage to it was very shallow and most dangerous, by reason of the bredth of the sound, and the little succour that vpon any flawe was there to be had.

But the Territorie and soyle of the Chese-pians (being distant fifteen miles from the shore) was for pleasantnes of seate, for temperature of Climate, for fertilitie of soyle, and for the commoditie of the Sea, besides multitudes of Beares (being an excellent good victuall) with great woods of Sassafras, and

Walnut

<sup>66</sup> Of this place we have before spoken as being near the dividing-line between Craven and Beaufort Counties. The distance from Roanoke Island is here given as eighty miles, and the passage to it is through Pamlico Sound.

<sup>67</sup> Here we touch the first account of

any journey, on the part of the English discoverers, which would take them over the line into the present Virginia. This journey carried them a good way north, into the territory around the waters of the Chesapeake Bay.

Wallnut trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatsoever.

There be sundry Kings, whom they call Weroances, and Countreys of great fertility adioyning to the same, as the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Oposfians, which all came to visite the Colonie of the English, which I had for a time appointed to be resident there.

To the Northwest the farthest place of our discovery was to Chawanook,<sup>22</sup> distant from Roanoak about 130. miles. Our passage thither lyeth through a broad sound, but all fresh water, and the chanell of great depth, nauigable for good shipping, but out of the chanell full of shoalds.

The Townes about the waters side situated by the way are these following: Passaquenoke The womans Towne, Chepanoc, Weapomeiok, Muscamunge, & Metackwem: all these being vnder the iurisdiction of the king of Weapomeiok, called Okisco: from Muscamunge we enter into the Riuer, and iurisdiction of Chawanook: There the Riuer beginneth to straighten vntil it come to Chawanook, and then groweth to be as narrow as the Thames betwene Westminster, and Lambeth.

Betwene Muscamunge and Chawanook vpon the left hand as wee passe thither, is a goodly high land, and there is a Towne which we called The blinde Towne, but the Sauages called it Ohanoak, and hath a very goodly corne field belonging vnto it: it is subiect to Chawanook. Chawanook

<sup>22</sup> The country of Chawanook appears to have been about the upper waters of the Chowan River. Some of the Indian towns here mentioned have already come into view. If Chawanook could of itself put seven hundred fighting men into the field, it must have been of unufual dimensions for an Indian town. Very likely this was a boast rather than a fact.

Chawanook it selfe is the greatest Prouince & Seigniorie lying vpon that Riuer, and the very Towne it selfe is able to put 700. fighting men into the fiede, besides the force of the Prouince it selfe.

The king of the sayd Prouince is called Menantonon, a man impotent in his lims, but otherwise for a Sauage, a very graue and wise man, and of a very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not onely of his owne Countrey, and the disposition of his owne men, but also of his neighbours round about him as well farre as neere, and of the commodities that eache Countrey yeeldeth. When I had him prisoner with me, for two dayes that we were together, he gaue mee more vnderstanding and light of the Countrey then I had receiued by all the searches and Sauages that before I or any of my companie had had conference with: it was in March last past 1586. Amongst other things he tolde me, that going three dayes iourney in a Canoe vp his Riuer of Chawanook, and then descending to the land, you are within foure dayes iourney to passe ouer land Northeast to a certaine Kings countrey, whose Prouince lyeth vpon the Sea, but his place of greatest strength is an Island situate, as hee described vnto mee, in a Bay, the water round about the Island very deepe.<sup>99</sup>

Out of this Bay hee signified vnto mee, that this King had so great quantitie of Pearle, and doeth so ordinarily take the same, as that not onely his owne skinner that hee weareth, and

<sup>99</sup> If one follows the course of boat and land travel here pointed out by King Menantonon, he will be led to Norfolk Island, Virginia. The narrative says, "the water round about the island being very deepe." This is exactly what makes Norfolk harbor to-day such an important place.

and the better sort of his gentlemen and followers are full fet with the sayd Pearle, but also his beds, and houses are garnished with them, and that hee hath such quantitie of them, that it is a wonder to see.

He shewed me that the sayd King was with him at Chawanook two yeeres before, & brought him certaine Pearle, but the same of the worst sort, yet was he faine to buy them of him for copper at a deere rate, as he thought. Hee gaue mee a rope of the same pearle, but they were blacke, and naught, yet many of them were very great, and a few amongst a number very orient and round, all which I lost with other things of mine, comming aboard Sir Francis Drake his Fleete: yet he tolde me that the sayd King had great store of Pearle that were white, great, and round, and that his black Pearle his men did take out of shallow water, but the white Pearle his men fished for in very deepe water.<sup>100</sup>

It seemed to me by his speech, that the sayd King had traffique with white men that had clothes as we haue, for these white Pearle, and that was the reason that hee would not depart with other then with blacke Pearles, to those of the same countrey.

The King of Chawanook promised to giue me guides to go ouer land into that kings countrey whensoever I would: but he aduised me to take good store of men with me, and good store of victuall, for he said, that king would be loth to suffer any strangers to enter into his Countrey, and especially to

<sup>100</sup> The references to pearls, in this and in the preceding voyage, are not probably to real pearls, as the pearl oyster is not known as belonging to North Carolina and Virginia waters. It was probably some preparation from shells which was ornamental and much prized by the natives.

to meddle with the fishing for any Pearle there, and that hee was able to make a great many of men in to the field, which he sayd would fight very well.

Hereupon I resolued with my selfe, that if your supplie had come before the ende of Aprill, and that you had sent any store of boates or men, to haue had them made in any reasonable time, with a sufficient number of men and victu-als, to haue found vs vntill the new corne were come in, I would haue sent a small barke with two pinneffes about by Sea to the Northward to haue found out the Bay he spake of, and to haue sounded the barre if there were any, which should haue ridden there in sayd Bay about that Iland, while I with all the small boates I could make, and with two hundred men would haue gone vp to the head of the riuier of Chawanook with the guidis that Menatonon would haue giuen me, which I would haue bene assured should haue bene of his best men, (for I had his best beloued sonne prisoner with me) who also should haue kept me companie in an handlocke with the rest, foote by foote, all the voyage ouer land.<sup>101</sup>

My

<sup>101</sup> The plan unfolded in these sentences is certainly a clear and admirable one. If Lane had been able to carry it out, his "barke" would probably have found its way into Hampton Roads, past the site of the present Forts Monroe, and the gateway to Virginia through the James River might have been then and there opened. Dr. Hawks says: "Although Lane was unable to carry out his scheme of exploration, yet there can be no doubt that this statement of his influenced Sir Walter Raleigh in directing the course of his future adventures. For John White, who commanded the colony of the next

expedition, was ordered merely to *stop* at Roanoke Island for a time, and then proceed farther north to this great bay and find on it a better site for the colony than that on Roanoke Island. So also Captain John Smith, at a subsequent period, made at once with his companions for the Chesapeake, and did not touch in North Carolina at all. And Sir Walter thus directed because of this information brought home to him by Lane. If we take into consideration what the latter saw, and what he heard, that subsequently proved true, his discoveries and correct information were too valuable to be called 'inconsiderable.' Raleigh

My meaning was further at the head of the Riuer in the place of my descent where I would haue left my boates, to haue raised a sconse<sup>102</sup> with a small trench, and a pallisado vpon the top of it, in the which, and in the guard of my boates I would haue left fve and twentie or thirtie men, with the rest would I haue marched with as much victuall as euery man could haue caried, with their furniture, mattocks, spades and axes, two dayes iourney. In the ende of my march vpon some conuenient plot would I haue raised another sconse according to the former, where I would haue left fifteene or twentie. And if it would haue fallen out conueniently, in the way I would haue raised my saide sconse vpon some Corne fielde, that my company might haue liued vpon it.

And so I would haue holden this course of insconing euery two dayes march, vntill I had bene arriued at the Bay or Port hee spake of: which finding to bee worth the possession, I would there haue raised a maine fort, both for the defence of the harborough, and our shipping also, and would haue reduced our whole habitation from Roanoak and from the harborough and port there (which by prooffe is very naught) vnto this other before mentioned, from whence, in the foure dayes march before specified, could I at al times retorne with my company back vnto my boates riding vnder my sconse, very neere whereunto directly from the West  
runneth

leigh was sagacious enough to deem them far otherwise." *History of North Carolina*, 1857, Vol. I. p. 116.

It was indeed most unfortunate that such calamities and crosses - purposes thickened about Raleigh's expeditions

that this clue could not at once have been followed up.

<sup>102</sup> A scone, or sconse, is ancient English for a fort or stronghold. And so one meaning of the word is pate, or skull, which is the stronghold of the brain.

runneth a most notable Riuer, and in all those parts most famous, called the Riuer of Moratoc. This Riuer openeth into the broad Sound of Weapomeiok. And whereas the Riuer of Chawanook, and all the other Sounds, and Bayes, salt and fresh, shewe no current in the world in calme weather, but are mooued altogether with the winde: This Riuer of Moratoc hath so violent a current from the West and Southwest, that it made me almost of opinion that with oares it would scarce be nauigable: it passeth with many creekes and turnings, and for the space of thirtie miles rowing, and more, it is as broad as the Thames betwixt Green-wich and the Isle of dogges, in some place more, and in some lesse: the current runneth as strong, being entred so high into the Riuer, as at London bridge vpon a vale water.<sup>108</sup>

And for that not onely Menatonon, but also the Sauages of Moratoc themselues doe report strange things of the head of that Riuer, and that from Moratoc it selfe, which is a principall Towne vpon that Riuer, it is thirtie dayes as some of them say, and some say fourtie dayes voyage to the head thereof, which head they say springeth out of a maine rocke  
in

<sup>108</sup> The river Moratoc is the Roanoke, and the "broad Sound of Weapomeiok" is Albemarle Sound. We have before pointed out that the town or country of Weapomeiok was situated on the northern side of this sound. The stories told by the natives about the origin of this river Moratoc were fabulous. It is formed by branches uniting in the southern part of central Virginia, more than a hundred miles inland from the place where it empties into Albemarle Sound.

At the close of the general paragraph just referred to the rapidity of the river is likened to the Thames "as at London bridge upon a vale water." A "vale water" is supposed to mean low water, or when the tide is out. Then the current would be swifter than when the tide was in. Richardson, in his English Dictionary, quotes this passage from *Hakluyt's Voyages*, to illustrate this particular variety of the various meanings of the word *vale*.



in that abundance, that forthwith it maketh a most violent streame: and further, that this huge rock standeth so neere vnto a Sea, that many times in stormes (the winde comming outwardly from the sea) the waues thereof are beaten into the said fresh streame, so that the fresh water for a certaine space, groweth salt and brackish: I tooke a resolution with my selfe, hauing dismissed Menatonon vpon a rancome agreed for, and sent his sonne into the Pinnesse to Roanoak, to enter presently so farre into that Riuer with two double whirries, and fourtie persons one or other, as I could haue victuall to cary vs, vntil we could meete with more either of the Moratoks, or of the Mangoaks, which is another kinde of Sauages, dwelling more to the Westward of said Riuer: but the hope of recouering more victuall from the Sauages made mee and my company as narrowly to escape staruing in that discouerie before our returne, as euer men did, that missed the fame.<sup>104</sup>

For Pemisapan<sup>105</sup> who had changed his name of Wingina vpon

<sup>104</sup> When savages honestly try to tell the truth, they are, at the best, poor authority; for intellectually they are like children, easily believing strange and improbable stories, and living perpetually in a kind of wonderland. But in this case the savages were evidently telling stories to suit their own plan, and their plan was to draw Lane and his men on to their destruction.

Some writers have criticised Lane as if he ought to have known that the stories told him about the river Moratoc and the country at the west were all false. It is very easy to be wise after the fact.

<sup>105</sup> This is the same man brought to our notice very soon after the landing of

Amidas and Barlowe in the first voyage, and already several times referred to. He was the Weroance or king of that part of the coast of North Carolina which includes the island of Roanoke, where the English adventurers still made their headquarters. All the intercourse of the English in that first voyage, as has been already stated, was with Granganimeo, the king's brother. But now this brother was dead, and Wingina, the king, had for some reason, perhaps a custom of the country, changed his name to Pemisapan. With him originated this plot against the English, and he drew Wanchese into his counsels. It is, after all, not much against him that he began to take measures to prevent the occupation of

vpon the death of his brother Granganimo, had giuen both the Choanists, and Mangoaks worde of my purpose touching them, I hauing bene informed to make him priuie to the same, to bee serued by him of a guide to the Mangoaks, and yet hee did neuer rest to solícite continually my going vpon them, certifying mee of a generall assembly euen at that time made by Menatonon at Chawanook of all his Weroances, and allies to the number of ~~three thousand~~ bowes, preparing to come vpō vs at Roanoak, and that the Mangoaks also were ioyned in the same confederacie, who were able of themselues to bring as many more to the enterprise: And true it was that at that time the assembly was holden at Chawanook about vs, as I found at my comming thither, which being vnlooked for did so dismay them, as it made vs haue the better hand at them. But this confederacie against vs of the Choanists and Mangoaks was altogether and wholly procured by Pemifapan himselfe, as Menatonon confessed vnto me, who sent them continual word, that our purpose was fully bent to destroy them: on the other side he told me, that they had the like meaning towards vs.

Hee in like sort hauing sent worde to the Mangoaks of mine intention to passe vp into their Riuer, and to kill them (as he saide) both they and the Moratoks, with whom before wee were entred into a league, and they had euer dealt kindly with vs, abandoned their Townes along the Riuer, and retired themselues with their Crenepos<sup>106</sup> and their Corne within

of his lands by men from another nation. More than a hundred Englishmen had been left in the country, for the expresse purpose of exploring and preparing the way for permanent settlement. He was seeking to nip their plan in the bud.  
<sup>106</sup> Their *crenepos* were their women.

within the maine: insomuch as hauing passed three dayes voyage vp the Riuer, wee could not meete a man, nor finde a graine of Corne in any their Townes: wherevpon considering with my selfe that wee had but two dayes victuall left, and that wee were then 160. miles from home, besides casualltie of contrary windes or stormes, and suspecting treason of our owne Sauages in the discouerie of our voyage intended, though wee had no intention to bee hurtfull to any of them, otherwise then for our copper to haue had corne of them: I at night vpon the Corps of guard, before the putting forth of Centinels, aduertised the whole company of the case wee stoode in for victuall, and of mine opinion that we were betrayed by our owne Sauages, and of purpose drawen forth by them vpon vaine hope to be in the ende starued, seeing all the Countrey fled before vs, and therefore while wee had those two dayes victual left, I thought it good for vs to make our returne homeward, and that it were necessary for vs to get the other side of the Sound of Weopmeciok in time, where wee might be relieued vpon the weares of Chypanum, and the womens Towne, although the people were fled.

Thus much I signified vnto them, as the safest way: neuertheless I did referre it to the greatest number of voyces, whether wee should aduenture the spending of our whole victuall in some further viewe of that most goodly Riuer in hope to meete with some better happe, or otherwise to retire our selues backe againe. And for that they might be the better aduised, I willed them to deliberate all night vpon the matter, and in the morning at our going aborde to set our course according to the desires of the greatest part. Their  
resolution

resolution fully and wholly was (and not three founde to bee of the contrary opinion) that whiles there was left but one halfe pinte of Corne for a man, wee should not leaue the searck of that Riuer, and that there were in the companie two Mastiues, vpon the pottage of which with Sassafras leaues (if the worst fell out) the company would make shift to liue two dayes, which time would bring them downe the current to the mouth of the Riuer, and to the entrie of the Sound, and in two dayes more at the farthest they hoped to crosse the Sound and to bee reliued by the weares, which two dayes they would fast rather then be drawne backe a foote till they had seene the Mangoaks, either as friendes or foes. This resolution of theirs did not a little please mee, since it came of themselues, although for mistrust of that which afterwards did happen, I pretended to haue bene rather of the contrary opinion.<sup>107</sup>

And that which made me most desirous to haue some doings with the Mangoaks either in friendship or otherwise to haue had one or two of them prisoners, was, for that it is a thing most notorious to all the countrey, that there is a Prouince to the which the said Mangoaks haue recourse and trafique vp that Riuer of Moratoc, which hath a marueilous and most strange Minerall. This Mine is so notorious amongst them, as not onely to the Sauages dwelling vp the said riuer, and also to the Sauages of Chawanook, and all them to the Westward, but also to all them of the  
maine:

<sup>107</sup> Whatever may have been said of Lane upon the score of his wisdom and sagacity, it is at least evident that he had the confidence of his men to a re-  
markable degree, and that they were enthusiastic in helping him carry out his plans and secure the purposes of the expedition.

maine: the Countreis name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan.

The Minerall they say is Waffador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Waffador euery mettall whatsoever: they say it is of the colour of our copper, but our copper is better then theirs; and the reason is for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoaton is very soft, and pale: they say that they take the saide mettall out of a riuier that falleth very swift from hie rockes and hils, and they take it in shallow water: the maner is this. They take a great bowle by their description as great as one of our targets, and wrappe a skinne ouer the hollow part thereof, leauing one part open to receiue in the minerall: that done, they watch the comming downe of the current, and the change of the colour of the water, and then suddenly chop downe the said bowle with the skinne, and receiue into the same as much oare as will come in, which is euer as much as their bowle will holde, which presently they cast into a fire, and forthwith it melteth, and doeth yeelde in fise parts at the first melting, two parts of metall for three parts of oare. Of this metall the Mangoaks haue so great store, by report of all the Sauages adioyning, that they beautifie their houses with great plates of the same: and this is to be true, I receiued by report of all the countrey, and particularly by yong Skiko, the King of Chawanooks sonne my prisoner, who also himselfe had bene prisoner with the Mangoaks, and set downe all the particularities to me before mentioned: but hee had not bene at Chawnis Temoatan himselfe: for hee said it was twentic dayes iourney ouerland from the Mangoaks, to the said Mineral Countrey, and that they

they passed through certaine other territories betweene them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the said Country.<sup>108</sup>

Vpon report of the premises, which I was very inquisitiue in all places where I came to take very particular information of, by all the Sauages that dwelt towards those parts, and especially of Menatonon himselfe, who in euery thing did very particularly informe mee, and promised me guides of his owne men, who should passe ouer with me, euen to the said Country of Chaunis Temoatan (for ouerland from Chawanook to the Mangoaks is but one dayes iourney from Sunne rising to Sunne setting, whereas by water it is seuen dayes with the soonest :) These things, I say, made me very desirous by all meanes possible to recouer the Mangoaks, and to get some of that copper for an assay, and therefore I willingly yeelded to their resolution: But it fell out very contrary to all expectation, and likelyhood: for after two dayes trauell, and our whole victuall spent, lying on shoare all night, wee could neuer see man, onely fires we might perceiue made alongst the shoare where we were to passe, and vp into the Countrey, vntill the very last day. In the euening whereof, about three of the clocke wee heard certaine Sauages

<sup>108</sup> Upon this matter of the metal *wasfador* and the stories told by the natives respecting mineral treasures at the west, Dr. Hawks makes the following observation: —

"It is curious enough that if we proceed westward from the country where the adventurers then were, we shall come presently, at the distance of some 150 miles or a little more, upon the gold producing region of North Carolina. So too of copper, of which the savages

seem to have been familiar enough. We of this day know of localities where they might have procured it not so far from them as the gold region. The natives did *not* lie when they said gold was west of them, and Lane was not deceived if he believed them. Singular it is that we should now be telling the world, as an indisputable truth, and such it is, the very same story that caused the Indians to be branded as liars." *History of North Carolina*, 1857, Vol. I. p. 123.

Sauages call as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with me in the boat, whereof we all being very glad, hoping of some friendly conference with them, and making him to answere them, they presently began a song as we thought, in token of our welcome to them: but Manteo presently betooke him to his piece, and tolde mee that they meant to fight with vs: which worde was not so soone spoken by him, and the light horsfeman<sup>109</sup> ready to put to shoare, but their lighted a vollie of their arrowes amongst them in the boat, but did no hurt (God be thanked) to any man. Immediately, the other boate lying ready with their shot to skoure the place for our hand weapons to lande vpon, which was presently done, although the land was very high and steepe, the Sauages forthwith quitted the shoare, and betooke themselves to flight: wee landed, and hauing faire and easily followed for a fmal time after them, who had wooded themselves we know not where: the Sunne drawing then towards the setting, and being then assured that the next day if wee would pursue them, though we might happen to meete with them, yet wee should be assured to meete with none of their victuall, which we then had good cause to thinke of: therefore choosung for the company a conuenient ground in safetie  
to

<sup>109</sup> Exactly what a *light horsfeman* should mean, in this connection, it may be difficult to say. There are two theories on which this expression may be explained. One is that it is an antique spelling for *light oarman*. The other is that it may be a fanciful way of designating a certain boat used for a particular purpose, to do service on the water as a real light horsfeman would do a similar service in war on the land. The

noun at first is in the singular number; but a page or two farther on we read, "for some of our company of the *light-horsfemen* were farre spent." Here we may suppose that the men who manned this particular boat are spoken of; so that while the boat itself might be called the *light-horsfeman*, those who did service in her were called *light-horsfemen*. On one or the other of these theories the passage is probably to be explained.

to lodge in for the night, making a strong Corps of guard, and putting out good Centinels, I determined the next morning before the rising of the Sunne to be going backe againe, if possibly we might recouer the mouth of the riuer, into the broad sound, which at my first motion I found my whole company ready to assent vnto: for they were nowe come to their Dogges porredge, that they had bespoken for themselves if that befell them which did, and I before did mistrust we should hardly escape. The ende was, we came the next day by night to the Riuers mouth within foure or fise miles of the same, hauing rowed in one day downe the current, as much as in foure dayes wee had done against the same: we lodged vpon an Iland, where we had nothing in the world to eate but pottage of Sassafras leaues, the like whereof for a meate was neuer used before as I thinke. The broad sound wee had to passe the next day all fresh and fasting: that day the winde blew so strongly, and the billow so great, that there was no possibilitie of passage without sinking of our boates. This was vpon Easter eue, which was fasted very truly. Vpon Easter day in the morning the winde comming very calme, we entred the sound, and by foure of the clocke we were at Chipanum, whence all the Sauages that we had left there were fled, but their weares did yeelde vs some fish, as God was pleased not vtterly to suffer vs to be lost: for some of our company of the light horsemen were farre spent. The next morning wee arriued at our home Roanoak.

I haue set downe this Voyage somewhat particularly, to the ende it may appeare vnto you, (as true it is) that there wanted no great good will from the most to the least amongst

vs,



vs, to haue perfited this discouerie of the Mine : for that the discouery of a good Mine, by the goodnesse of God, or a passage to the South-sea, or some way to it, and nothing els can bring this Countrey in request to be inhabited by our nation. And with the discouery of either of the two aboue shewed, it will bee the most sweete and healthfullest climate, and therewithall the most fertile soyle (being manured) in the world : and then will Sassafras, and many other rootes and gummes there found make good marchandise and lading for shipping, which otherwise of themselues will not be worth the fetching.<sup>110</sup>

Prouided also, that there be found out a better harborough<sup>111</sup> then yet there is, which must be to the Northward, if any there bee, which was mine intention to haue spent this Summer in the search of, and of the Mine of Chawnis Temoatan : the one I would haue done, if the barkes that I should

<sup>110</sup> Lane exaggerates the importance of a mine to the well-being of a new country. In the actual settlement of the New World, both north and south, the soil itself was the chief source of such wealth as the early generations had, though the wild animals with their furs, and the fish in the seas, added a comfortable increase to the store. Mines of gold and silver, which played so important and often so injurious a part in the early Spanish settlements in this country, had little to do in the more northern colonies along the Atlantic shore. But when Lane wrote his report, Spain had grown rich on the products of her golden stores gathered from the New World, and France and England desired to follow in the same pathway. The whole European world was full of excitement on this subject, and Lane

only gave voice to the prevailing sentiment.

<sup>111</sup> However Lane might misjudge as to the importance of mines of gold and silver and copper, one thing he knew surely, and that was, that, if this country was to be permanently settled, it must have a better "harborough" than the one about Roanoke Island, or any other that he had been able to find along the shore south. He was quite certain that such a harbor must be looked for at the north, and, if all his plans had not been thrown into sudden confusion in the spring of 1586, he would doubtless have soon found it; for it was there awaiting his discovery, and, as we have seen, he knew where to look for it, from information which he had gathered from the natives.

should haue had of Sir Francis Drake,<sup>113</sup> by his honourable courtesie, had not bene driuen away by storme: the other if your supply of more men, and some other necessaries had come to vs in any conuenient sufficiencie. For this riuer of Moratico promiseth great things and by the opinion of M. Hariots the head of it by the description of the Countrey either riseth from the bay of Mexico, or els from very neere vnto the same, that openeth out into the South sea.

And touching the Minerall, thus doeth M. Youghan affirme, that though it be but copper, seeing the Sauages are able to melt it, it is one of the richest Minerals in the world.

Wherefore a good harborough found to the Northward, as before is saide, and from thence foure dayes ouerland, to the Riuer of Choanoak sconces being raised, from whence againe ouerland through the prouince of Choanoak one dayes voyage to the first towne of the Mangoaks vp the riuer of Moratico by the way, as also vpon the said Riuer for the defence of our boats like sconses being set, in this course of proceeding you shall clear your selfe from al those dangers and broad shallow sounds before mentioned, and gaine within foure dayes trauell into the heart of the maine 200. miles at the least, and so passe your discouery into that most notable countrey, and to the likeliest parts of the maine, with farre greater felicitie then otherwife can bee performed.

Thus Sir, I haue though simply, yet truely set downe vnto  
you,

<sup>113</sup> Expressions like this show that this narrative of Lane was not written out until after his return to England. This coming in of Sir Francis Drake ante- dated his departure for England by only a few days comparatively, and these were days of storm, confusion, and fore disaster.

you, what my labour with the rest of the gentlemen, and poore men of our company (not without both paine and perill, which the Lord in his mercy many wayes deliuered vs from) could yeeld vnto you, which might haue bene performed in some more perfection, if the Lord had bene pleased that onely that which you had prouided for vs had at the first bene left with vs, or that hee had not in his eternall prouidence now at the last set some other course in these things, than the wisedome of man could looke into, which truely the carying away by a most strange & vnlooked for storme of all our prouision, with Barks, Master, Mariners, and sundry also of mine owne company, al hauing been so courteously supplied by the generall Sir Francis Drake, the same hauing bene most sufficient to haue performed the greatest part of the premisses, must euer make me to thinke the hand of God onely (for some his good purpose to my selfe yet vnknownen) to haue bene in the matter.<sup>118</sup>

*The second part touching the conspiracie of Pemisapan, the discouery of the same, and at the last, of our request to depart with Sir Francis Drake for England.*

ENfenore a Sauage father to Pemisapan being the onely friend to our nation that we had amongst them, and about the

<sup>118</sup> Sir Francis Drake, who came with such timely help to Lane and his men, and who really incommoded himself greatly to give this relief to his countrymen, was one of the great navigators of the reign of Elizabeth. He was the eldest of twelve children, in the family of a poor clergyman, and was born in 1546. He was forty years old when his fleet came on the coast of North Carolina. Six years before he had been knighted by Elizabeth for the gallant services he had already performed.

the King, died the 20. of April 1586. He alone had before opposed himselfe in their consultations against all matters proposed against vs, which both the King and all the rest of them after Grangemoes death, were very willing to haue preferred. And he was not onely by the mere prouidence of God during his life, a meane to saue vs from hurt, as poysonings and such like, but also to doe vs very great good, and singularly in this.<sup>114</sup>

The

<sup>114</sup> This second part, it will be noticed, is only a going back to rehearse more fully what has already been partly told in the first part. *Vide* note 82. Pemisapan, or Wingina, had formed his plans before Lane and his men left for their explorations up the Roanoke River. The tribes on that river, the Mangoaks and Moratocs and Chonaniits, were acting in league with Pemisapan in their plans to draw Lane farther and farther into the interior. Lane was not aware of these devices before he set out upon this journey, but, as we have seen, the mischief was revealed to him suddenly while on his expedition, and on his return he had abundant evidence of Pemisapan's connection with it, as its originator.

With such promptness and energy, however, did he act that Pemisapan was speedily put to death, and his associates baffled and discomfited.

It seems, moreover, that up to this time Lane had lost no men during his winter's sojourn, which is a very remarkable fact. Including himself, there were a hundred and eight Englishmen who had passed the winter in an unaccustomed climate, without comfortable dwellings and sometimes in want, had made journeys to and fro, by water and land, and up to April, 1586, or even later, not a death had occurred among them.

Hariot, in his *Brief and True Report*, which will be found farther on, speaking of the healthfulness of the climate, notwithstanding their exposures, adds: "And yet I say for all this, there were but foure of our whole company (being one hundred and eight) that died all the yeere, and that but at the latter end thereof and upon none of the aforesaid causes (want of food, &c.). For all foure, especially three, were feeble, weake and sickly persons before ever they came thither, and those that knew, much marueled that they liued so long being in that case, or had aduentured to trauaile."

This agrees essentially with the account given in a volume entitled *Sir Francis Drake Revived*, which was first published in London in 1626, and a second edition in 1653. In this work it is stated that the number of Englishmen to be brought home in Drake's ships was one hundred and three, and in this reckoning Lane himself may not have been included. The evidence is sure that not more than four or five had died out of the one hundred and eight. The losses of the French at De Monts's Island, and of the English at Jamestown and at Plymouth, were much larger. If Lane, the Governor, had not shown wisdom and energy in his management, we should not have a record like this to report.

The King was aduised and of himselfe disposed, as a ready meane to haue assuredly brought vs to ruine in the moneth of March 1586. himselfe also with all his Sauages to haue runne away from vs, and to haue left his ground in the Iland vnfowed: which if hee had done, there had bene no possibilitie in common reason, (but by the immediate hande of God) that wee could haue bene preferued from staruing out of hande. For at that time we had no weares for fish, neither coulde our men skill of the making of them, neither had wee one graine of Corne for feede to put into the ground.

In mine abfence on my voyage that I had made against the Chaonists, and Mangoaks, they had raised a brute among themselues, that I and my company were part slaine, and part starued by the Chaonists, and Mangoaks. One part of this tale was too true, that I and mine were liked to be starued, but the other false.

Neuerthelesse vntill my returne it tooke such effect in Pemisapans breast, and in those against vs, that they grew not onely into contempt of vs, but also (contrary to their former reuerend opinion in shew, of the Almighty God of heauen, and Iesus Christ whom wee serue and worship, whom before they would acknowledge and confesse the onely God) now they began to blaspheme, and flatly to say, that our Lorde God was not God, since hee suffered vs to sustaine much hunger, and also to be killed of the Renapoaks, for so they call by that generall name all the inhabitants of the whole maine, of what prouince focuer. Insomuch as olde Ensenore, neither any of his fellowes, could for his sake haue no more credite for vs: and it came so farre that the king was resolu'd to haue presently gone away as is aforesaid.

But

But euen in the beginning of this brute I returned, which when hee sawe contrary to his expectation, and the aduertisement that hee had receiued: that not onely my selfe, and my company were all safe, but also by report of his owne 3. Sauages which had bene with mee besides Manteo in that voyage, that is to say, Tetepano, his sisters husband Eracano, and Cossine, that the Chanoists and Mangoaks (whose name and multitude besides their valour is terrible to all the rest of the prouinces) durst not for the most part of them abide vs, and that those that did abide vs were killed, and that we had taken Menatonon prisoner, and brought his sonne that he best loued to Roanoak with mee, it did not a little asswage all deuises against vs: on the other side, it made Ensenores opinions to bee receiued againe with greater respects. For he had often before tolde them, and then renewed those his former speeches, both to the King and the rest, that wee were the seruants of God, and that wee were not subiect to bee destroyed by them: but contrarywise, that they amongst them that fought our destruction, shoulde finde their owne, and not bee able to worke ours, and that we being dead men were able to doe them more hurt, then now we could do being aliue: an opinion very confidently at this day holden by the wisest amongst them, and of their old men, as also, that they haue bene in the night, being 100. miles from any of vs, in the aire shot at, and stroken by some men of ours, that by sicknesse had died among them: and many of them holde opinion, that we be dead men returned into the world againe, and that wee doe not remaine dead but for a certaine time, and that then we returne againe.

All these speeches then againe grewe in ful credite with them,

them, the King, and all, touching vs, when hee sawe the small troupe returned againe, and in that sort from those whose very names were terrible vnto them: But that which made vp the matter on our side for that time was an accident, yea rather (as all the rest was) the good prouidence of the Almightye for the sauing of vs, which was this.

Within certaine dayes after my returne from the sayd journey, Menatonon sent a messenger to visite his sonne the prisoner with me, and sent me certaine pearle for a present, or rather, as Pemisapan tolde mee, for the ransome of his sonne, and therefore I refused them: but the greatest cause of his sending then, was to signifie vnto mee, that hee had commaunded Okisko King of Weopomiok, to yeelde himselfe seruant, and homager, to the great Weroanza of England, and after her to Sir Walter Raleigh: to perfourme which commandement receiued from Menatonon, the sayde Okisko ioyntly with this Menatonons messenger sent foure and twentie of his principallist men to Roanoak to Pemisapan, to signifie that they were ready to perfourme the same, and so had sent those his men to let mee knowe that from that time forwarde, hee, and his successours were to acknowledge her Maiestie their onely Soueraigne, and next vnto her, as is aforesayd.

All which being done, and acknowledged by them all, in the presence of Pemisapan his father, and all his Sauages in counsell then with him, it did for the time thorowly (as it seemed) change him in disposition toward vs: Infomuch as forthwith Ensenore wanne this resolution of him, that out of hand he should goe about, and withall, to cause his men to set vp weares foorthwith for vs: both which he at that present  
went

went in hande withall, and did so labour the expedition of it, that in the end of April he had sowed a good quantitie of ground, so much as had bene sufficient, to haue fed our whole company (God blessing the growth) and that by the belly, for a whole yeere: besides that he gaue vs a certaine plot of ground for our selues to sowe. All which put vs in marueilous comfort, if we could passe from Aprill vntill the beginning of Iuly, (which was to haue bene the beginning of their haruest,) <sup>115</sup> that then a newe supply out of England or els our owne

<sup>115</sup> In Barlow's account of the first voyage may be found some statements about the rapid growth of the corn crop, *Zea Mays*, which are not borne out by later witnesses. The stay of Captains Amidas and Barlow was very short, and they probably had not gained the exact facts on this subject.

Hariot, in his *Briefe and True Report*, states the case more rationally. He says: "If neede require, but that there is ground enough, there might be raised out of one and the selfe-same ground two haruests off cornes: for they sow or set, and may at any time, when they think goode, from the midst of March vntil the ende of June; so that they alsoe set when they haue eaten of their first crop. In some places of the country, notwithstanding, they haue two haruests, as we haue heard, out of one and the same ground." With this passage from Hariot our present text accords. The beginning of Iuly was the beginning of their haruest, but this probably was only from corn which had been planted in the middle of March, three months and a half before.

Strachey has the following passage on the manner of raising corn in ancient Virginia:—

"The natives haue here a kinde of wheat which they call poketawes, as

the West Indians call the same maiz. The form of yt is of a man's tooth, some what thicker: for the preparing of the ground for which, they use this manner:—they bruise the bark of those trees which they will take awaie near the roote, then do they scorch the rootes with fier, that they grow no more; the next yeare, with a crooked piece of wood, they beat up those trees by the rootes, and in their mowldes they plant their corne: the manner is thus, they make a hole in the earth with a stick, and into yt they put three or fve graines of wheat (corn), and one or three of beanes: these holes they make four or fve foot one from another, the corne being set close to gether, one stalke would choak els the growth of another, and so render both unprofitable. Their women and children do continually keepe the ground with weeding and when the corne is growne middle high, they hill yt about like a hoppeyard, and the stalke will growe a man's height, or rather more, from the ground and euery stalk commonly beareth two eares, some three, manie but one, and some none. Euery eare groweth with a great hoze or pile [peel] about yt and aboue yt; the stalke being greene hath a sweete iuyce in yt, somewhat like a sugar-cane, which is the cause that when they



owne store would well ynough maintaine vs: All our feare was of the two moneths betwixt, in which meane space if the Sauages

they gather the corne greene, they suck the stalkes, for as we gather greene peas, so do they, their corne being greene, which excelleth their old."—*History of Travaile into Virginia*, Hakluyt Society, 1849, pp. 116, 117.

Champlain, the founder of Quebec and early governor of Canada, skirting the New England coast as a navigator and explorer in the summers of 1604, 1605, and 1606, went ashore near the mouth of the Saco River in Maine, on the 9th or 10th of July, 1605, and thus describes what he saw. From his account the method of raising corn in New England was almost exactly the same as in Virginia:—

"The next day Sieur de Monts and I landed to observe their tillage on the bank of the river. We saw their Indian corn which they raise in gardens. Planting three or four kernels in one place, they then heap up about it a quantity of earth. . . . Then three feet distant they plant as much more, and thus in succession. With this corn they put in each hill three or four Brazilian beans which are of different colors. When they grow up they interlace with the corn, which reaches to the height of from five to six feet; and they keep the ground very free from weeds. We saw there many squashes, and pumpkins and tobacco which they likewise cultivate. The Indian corn which we saw was at that time about two feet high, some of it as high as three. . . . They plant their corn in May and gather it in September." *Champlain's Voyages*, Boston, Prince Society ed., 1878, Vol. II. pp. 64-66.

The statement of the largest yield of corn in early Virginia which we have seen is found in one of Force's *Historical Tracts*:—

"It is auowed vnto mee, in writing, in the words of the Author, that hath been there, as followeth: *They use to put their wheat into the ground, five cornes in one spit of earth, and two beanes with them: which wheat multiplying into diuers stalkes grow up twelue, or fourteen foote high: yielding some foure, five or six eares on euery stalke; and in euery eare some five hundred, some six hundred some seauen hundred cornes: the two beanes, runne upon the stalkes of the wheat, as our garden pease upon sticke, which multiplie to a wondrous increase.*"—*Force's Hist. Tracts*, Vol. III., *A True Declaration of Virginia*, 1610, p. 12.

Somewhere in these narratives the remarkable increase of this crop is spoken of, and it is stated that it may be two thousand fold. This is a fair estimate. A good ear of yellow Indian corn will give about four hundred kernels, often many more. But the stalk springing from the single kernel planted often bears two or more ears, and if there be but two then the increase would become eight hundred fold. But we have varieties of corn where the ears are much larger than the one above described. We have before us as we write an ear of Stowell's evergreen, which is only of moderate size, and it numbers between six hundred and seven hundred kernels, and we have seen ears of this variety so much larger that we doubt not some may be found that will number eight hundred kernels in their fourteen rows; and then, if three ears like this should grow upon a single stalk, our increase would go up to more than two thousand fold.

Since writing the above we have seen an ear of Western corn having twenty-six rows at the base, tapering to a lesser number

Sauages should not helpe vs with Chaffau, and Chyna,<sup>116</sup> and that our weares should faile vs, (as often they did,) we might very well starue, notwithstanding the growing corne, like the staruing horse in the stable, with the growing grasse, as the prouerbe is: which wee very hardly had escaped but onely by the hand of God, as it pleased him to try vs. For within few dayes after, as before is saide, Ensenore our friend died, who was no sooner dead, but certaine of our great enemies about Pemisapan, as Ofacan a Weroance, Tanaquing and Wanchese most principally, were in hand againe to put their old practises in vse against vs, which were readily imbraced, and all their former deuises against vs, renewed, and new brought in question. But that of staruing vs, by their forbearing to sow, was broken by Ensenore in his life, by hauing made the King all at one instant to sow his ground, not onely in the Iland, but also at Dasamonquepeio in the maine, within two leagues ouer against vs. Neuerthelesse there wanted no store of mischieuous practises among them, and of all they resolued principally of this following.

First that Okisko king of Weopomeiok with the Mandoages should bee mooued, and with great quantitie of copper intertained to the number of 7. or 8. hundreth bowes, to enterprise the matter thus to be ordered. They of Weopomeiok should be inuited to a certaine kind of moneths minde which they doe vse to solemmise in their Sauage maner  
for

number above, and having more than a thousand kernels.

<sup>116</sup> Chaffau and Chyna are Cassava, *Manihot utillissima*, and China-root, *Smilax China*. From the former comes our preparation known as tapioca or

Brazilian arrow-root, and from the latter good food may be prepared. This fact was known to the natives of this country three hundred years ago, though they probably did not know our modern forms of treatment.

for any great personage dead, and should haue bene for Ensenore. At this instant also should the Mandoaks, who were a great people, with the Chesepians & their friends to the number of 700. of them, be armed at a day appointed to the maine of Dasamonquepeio<sup>117</sup> and there lying close at the signe of fires, which should interchangeably be made on both sides, when Pemisapan with his troupe about named should haue executed me, and some of our Weroances (as they called all our principall officers,) the maine forces of the rest should haue come ouer into the Island, where they ment to haue dispatched the rest of the company, whom they did imagine to finde both dismayed and dispersed abroad in the Island, seeking of crabs and fish to liue withall. The maner of their enterprise was this.

Tarraquine and Andacon two principall men about Temisapan, and very lustie fellowes, with twentie more appointed to them had the charge of my person to see an order taken for the same, which they ment should in this sort haue bene executed. In the dead time of the night they would haue beset my house, and put fire in the reedes that the same was couered with: meaning (as it was likely) that my selfe would haue come running out of a sudden amazed in my shirt without armes, vpon the instant whereof they would haue knocked out my braines.

The

<sup>117</sup> Dasamonquepeis was an Indian town lying near the shore, on the main land, directly across from Roanoke Island, and only a few miles, perhaps six, from the island. The signal-fires would be easily seen across the strip of water separating the island from the main. This great gathering of the tribes was

on the pretence of keeping some religious day in memory of Ensinore, the father of the king, who had recently died. Pemisapan, the king, it will be remembered, had his home on Roanoke Island, where the Englishmen were living.

The same order was giuen to certaine of his fellowes, for M. Heriots: so for all the rest of our better fort, all our houses at one instant being set on fire as afore is saide, and that as well for them of the fort, as for vs at the towne. Now to the ende that we might be the fewer in number together, and so bee the more easily dealt withall (for in deed tenne of vs with our armes prepared were a terrour to a hundred of the best fort of them,) they agreed and did immediatly put it in practise, that they should not for any copper sell vs any victuals whatsoever: besides that in the night they should sende to haue our weares robbed, and also to cause them to bee broken, and once being broken neuer to be repaired againe by them. By this meanes the King stood assured, that I must bee enforced for lacke of sustenance there, to disband my company into sundry places to liue vpon shell fish, for so the Sauages themselues doe, going to Hatorask, Croatoan, and other places, fishing and hunting, while their grounds be in sowing, and their corne growing: which failed not his expectation. For the famine grew so extreeme among vs, our weares failing vs of fish, that I was enforced to sende Captaine Stafford<sup>118</sup> with 20. with him to Croatoan my Lord Admirals Iland to serue two turnes in one, that is to say, to feede himselfe and his company, and also to keepe watch if any shipping came vpon the coast to warne vs of the same. I sent M. Pridiox with the pinnesse to Hatorask, and ten with him, with the Prouost Marshal to liue

weirs

<sup>118</sup> Captain Stafford, Master Edward Stafford, as his name stands in the list, was a man in whom Lane confided much, and who was sought for future service in this same kind of life. He came over with Captain White in 1587, and was a prominent man in the expedition.

liue there, and also to wait for shipping: also I sent euery weeke 16. or 20. of the rest of the company to the maine ouer against vs, to liue of Casada and oysters.

In the meane while Pemisapan went of purpose to Dafamonquepeio for three causes: The one to see his grounds there broken vp, and sowed for a second crop: the other to withdrawe himselfe from my dayly sending to him for supply of victuall for my company, for hee was afraid to deny me any thing, neither durst hee in my presence but by colour and with excuses, which I was content to accept for the time, meaning in the ende as I had reason, to giue him the iumpe once for all: but in the meane whiles, as I had euer done before, I and mine bare all wrongs, and accepted of all excuses.

My purpose was to haue relied my selfe with Menatonon, and the Chaonists, who in trueth as they are more valiant people and in greater number then the rest, so are they more faithfull in their promises, and since my late being there had giuen many tokens of earnest desire they had to ioyne in perfect league with vs, and therefore were greatly offended with Pemisapan and Weopomeiok for making him belecue such tales of vs.

The third cause of his going to Dafamonquepeio was to dispatch his messengers to Weopomeiok, and to the Mandoages, as aforesaid: all which he did with great imprest of copper in hand, making large promises to them of greater spoils.

The answere within few dayes after came from Weopomeiok, which was deuided into two parts. First for the King Okisko, who denied to be of the partie for himselfe,

or

or any of his especiall followers, and therefore did immediately retire himselfe with his force into the maine: the other was concerning the rest of the said prouince who accepted of it: and in like sort the Mandoage receiued the imprest.

The day of their assembly aforesaid at Roanoak was appointed the 10. of Iune: all which the premises were discovered by Skyco, the King Menatonon his sonne my prisoner, who hauing once attempted to run away, I laid him in the bylboes, threatening to cut off his head, whom I remitted at Pemisapans request: whereupon hee being perswaded that hee was our enemie to the death, he did not onely feed him with himselfe, but also made him acquainted with all his practises. On the other side, the yong man finding himselfe as well vsed at my hande, as I had meanes to shew, and that all my company made much of him, he flatly discovered al vnto me, which also afterwards was reueiled vnto me by one of Pemisapans owne men, that night before he was slaine.

These mischiefes being all instantly vpon me and my company to be put in execution, it stood mee in hand to study how to preuent them, and also to saue all others, which were at that time as aforesaid so farre from me: whereupon I sent to Pemisapan to put suspition out of his head, that I meant presently to go to Croatoan, for that I had heard of the ariual of our fleete, (though I in trueth had neither heard nor hoped for so good aduenture) and that I meant to come by him, to borrow of his men to fish for my company, & to hunt for me at Croatoan, as also to buy some foure dayes prouision to serue for my voyage.

He sent me word that he would himselfe come ouer to  
Roanoak,

Roanoak, but from day to day he deferred, onely to bring the Weopomeioks with him & the Mandoags, whose time appointed was within eight dayes after. It was the last of May 1586. when all his owne Sauages began to make their asseembly at Roanoak, at his commandement sent abroad vnto them, and I resolued not to stay longer vpon his comming ouer, since he meant to come with so good company, but thought good to go and visit him with such as I had, which I resolued to do the next day: but that night I meant by the way to giue them in the Island a canuifado, and at the instant to seize vpon all the canoas, about the Island, to keepe him from aduertisements.

But the towne tooke the alarme before I meant it to them: the occasion was this, I had sent the Master of the light horseman, with a few with him, to gather vp all the canoas in the setting of the Sun, & to take as many as were going from vs to Dasamonquepcio, but to suffer any that came from thence to land. He met with a canoa going from the shore, and ouerthrew the canoa, and cut off two Sauages heads: this was not done so secretly but he was discouered from the shore; whereupon the cry arose: for in trueth they, priuy to their owne villainous purposes against vs, held as good espial vpon vs, both day and night, as we did vpon them.

The alarme giuen, they tooke themselues to their bowes, and we to our armes: some three or foure of them at the first were slaine with our shot; the rest fled into the woods.

The next morning with the light horseman & one Canoa taking 25 with the Colonel of the Chesepians, and the Sergeant maior, I went to Dasamonquepcio: and being landed, sent Pemisapan word by one of his owne Sauages that met  
me

me at the shore, that I was going to Croatoan, and meant to take him in the way to complaine vnto him of Osocon, who the night past was conueying away my prisoner, whom I had there present tied in an handlocke. Heereupon the king did abide my comming to him, and finding myselfe amidst feuen or eight of his principall Weroances and followers, (not regarding any of the common sort) I gaue the watchword agreed vpon, (which was, Christ our victory) and immediatly those his chiefe men and himselfe had by the mercy of God for our deliuerance, that which they had purposed for vs. The king himselfe being shot thorow by the Colonell with a pistoll, lying on the ground for dead, & I looking as watchfully for the sauing of Manteos friends, as others were busie that none of the rest should escape, suddenly he started vp, and ran away as though he had not bene touched, insomuch as he ouerran all the company, being by the way shot thwart the buttocks by mine Irish boy with my petronell. In the end an Irish man seruing me, one Nugent, and the deputy prouost, vndertooke him; and following him in the woods, ouertooke him: and I in some doubt least we had lost both the king & my man by our owne negligence to haue beene intercepted by the Sauages, wee met him returning out of the woods with Pemisapans head in his hand.<sup>119</sup>

This fell out the first of Iune 1586, and the eight of the same

<sup>119</sup> This was certainly a bold and daring step on the part of Lane, and it is remarkable that he and his company should have passed through all these perils surrounding them on every side without the loss of a single man. But we can hardly reconcile this transaction

with Christian principles of honor. Lane might say that all is fair in war, and that his enemy only fell into the pit which he himself had digged. But the heart instinctively condemns treachery, whether it be enacted by a man with a copper-colored or a white skin.

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same came aduertisement to me from captaine Stafford, lying at my lord Admirals Island, that he had discouered a great fleet of three and twenty failes: but whether they were friends or foes, he could not yet discerne. He aduised me to stand vpon as good guard as I could.

The ninth of the sayd moneth he himselfe came vnto me, hauing that night before, & that same day trauelled by land twenty miles: and I must truely report of him from the first to the last; hee was the gentleman that neuer spared labour or perill either by land or water, faire weather or foule, to performe any seruice committed vnto him.

He brought me a letter from the Generall Sir Francis Drake, with a most bountifull and honourable offer for the supply of our necessities to the performance of the action wee were entred into; and that not only of victuals, munition, and clothing, but also of barks, pinnesses, and boats; they also by him to be victualled, manned and furnished to my contentation.

The tenth day he arriued in the road of our bad harborow: and comming there to an anker, the eleuenth day I came to him, whom I found in deeds most honourably to performe that which in writing and message he had most curteously offered, he hauing aforehand propounded the matter to all the captaines of his fleet, and got their liking and consent thereto.

With such thanks vnto him and his captaines for his care both of vs and of our action, not as the matter deserued, but as I could both for my company and myselfe, I (being aforehand prepared what I would desire) craued at his hands that it would please him to take with him into England a number  
of

of weake and vnfit men for my good action, which I would deliuer to him; and in place of them to supply me of his company with oare-men, artificers, and others.

That he would leaue vs so much shipping and victuall, as about August then next following would cary me and all my company into England, when we had discouered somewhat, that for lacke of needfull prouision in time left with vs as yet remained vndone.

That it would please him withall to leaue some sufficient Masters not onely to cary vs into England, when time should be, but also to search the coast for some better harborow, if there were any, and especially to helpe vs to some small boats and oare-men.

Also for a supply of calieuers, hand weapons, match and lead, tooles, apparell, and such like.

He hauing receiued these my requests, according to his vsuall commendable maner of gouernment (as it was told me) calling his captaines to counsell; the resolution was that I should send such of my officers of my company as I vsed in such matters, with their notes, to goe aboard with him; which were the Master of the victuals, The Keeper of the store, and the Vicetreasurer: to whom he appointed forthwith for me The Francis, being a very proper barke of 70 tun, and tooke present order for bringing of victual aboard her for 100 men for foure moneths, with all my other demands whatsoever, to the vttermost.

And further, he appointed for me two pinneses, and foure small boats: and that which was to performe all his former liberality towards vs, was that he had gotten the full assents of two of as sufficient experimented Masters as were any in

his fleet, by iudgement of them that knew them, with very sufficient gings to tary with me, and to employ themselves most earnestly in the action, as I should appoint them, vntill the terme which I promised of our returne into England againe. The names of one of those Masters was Abraham Kendall, the other Griffith Herne.

While these things were in hand, the prouision aforefaid being brought, and in bringing aboard, my sayd Masters being also gone aboard, my sayd barks hauing accepted of their charge, and mine owne officers, with others in like sort of my company with them (all which was dispatched by the sayd Generall the 12 of the sayde moneth) the 13 of the same there arose such an vnwoonted storme, and continued foure dayes, that had like to haue driuen all on shore,<sup>120</sup> if the Lord had not held his holy hand ouer them, and the Generall very prouidently foreseene the woorst himselfe, then about my dispatch putting himselfe aboard: but in the end hauing driuen fundry of the fleet to put to Sea the Francis also with all my prouisions, my two Masters, and my company aboard, she was seene to be free from the same, and to put cleere to Sea.

This storme hauing continued from the 13 to the 16 of the

<sup>120</sup> This expression shows that the storm was from the east, and indeed no storm breaking in this manner along the Atlantic shore, and continuing for such a period, would be likely to come except from that direction. It was something very unusual for such a storm to prevail when the summer was so far advanced. It lasted from the 13th to the 16th of June inclusive, and this in

New Style would have been from the 23d to the 26th of June. Lane calls it "an unwonted storm," out of season. "The Stormy Hatteras" is an old story, and the whole North Carolina coast is exposed to rough seas. But even there they do not often have a four days' wild northeaster in the latter half of June.

the moneth, and thus my barke put away as aforesayd, the Generall comming ashore made a new proffer vnto me; which was a ship of 170 tunne, called the bark Bonner, with a sufficient Master and guide to tary with me the time appointed, and victualled sufficiently to cary me and my company into England, with all prouisions as before: but he tolde me that he would not for any thing vndertake to haue her brought into our harbour, and therefore he was to leaue her in the road, and to leaue the care of the rest vnto my selfe, and aduised me to consider with my company of our case, and to deliuer presently vnto him in writing what I would require him to doe for vs; which being within his power, he did assure me aswell for his Captaines as for himselfe, should be most willingly performed.

Heereupon calling such Captaines and gentlemen of my company as then were at hand, who were all as priuy as my selfe to the Generals offer; their whole request was to me, that considering the case that we stood in, the weaknesse of our company, the small number of the same, the carying away of our first appointed barke, with those two especiall Masters, with our principall prouisions in the same, by the very hand of God as it seemed, stretched out to take vs from thence; considering also, that his second offer, though most honourable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, insomuch as there was no possibility for her with any safety to be brought into the harbour: seeing furthermore, our hope for supply with Sir Richard Greenuill, so vndoubtedly promised vs before Easter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this yeere, considering the doings in England for Flanders, and also for America, that therefore I would resolue my selfe  
with

with my company to goe into England in that fleet, and accordingly to make request to the Generall in all our names, that he would be pleased to giue vs present passage with him. Which request of ours by my selfe deliuered vnto him, hee most readily assented vnto: and so he sending immediatly his pinnesses vnto our Island, for the fetching away of a few that there were left with our baggage, the weather was so boisterous, & the pinnesses so often on ground, that the most of all we had, with all our Cards, Books and writing were by the Sailers cast ouerboard, the greater number of the fleet being much agriued with their long and dangerous abode in that miserable road.

From whence the Generall in the name of the Almighty, weying his ankers (hauing bestowed vs among his fleet) for the reliefe of whom hee had in that storme susteined more perill of wracke then in all his former most honourable actions against the Spanyards, with praises vnto God for all, set faile the nineteenth of Iune 1586, and arriued in Portsmouth the seuen and twentieth of Iuly the same yeere.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>121</sup> In closing Lane's narrative, we quote a passage from Dr. Hawks, in which he points out how widely Lane and his company extended their travels and researches during the year of their stay in America. He says: "Now let us see what portions of the State they visited during that year. Beginning at the south, 'Croatoan,' they will be found to have visited of our present counties, Carteret, Craven, a part of Jones, Beaufort, and Hyde. and all the five counties north of Albemarle found, from Currituck found to Chowan river. They ascended Chowan river, and thus coasted, at least, Bertie, Hertford and

Gates, for they went up to the junction of the Meherin and Nottaway rivers. They ascended the Roanoke until they were 'one hundred and sixty miles from home,' and as the distance from that spot to the mouth of Roanoke is some fifty miles, they must have been up the river one hundred and ten miles: they then ascended it for two days more, and if but ten miles a day be allowed, they must have ascended the Roanoke one hundred and thirty miles from its mouth. This would have taken them along the borders of Martin, Bertie, Halifax, Northampton and Warren counties. To the northward they went one hundred

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dred and thirty miles from Roanoke Island; here their voyage must have been up Currituck sound which took them into Virginia. Leaving the water they traveled into the country of the 'Chesapeans' which was 'distant fifteen miles from the shoare,' so that they almost reached the Chesapeake Bay below Norfolk. In short, toward the south they journeyed from eighty to one hun-

dred miles; northward they went one hundred and thirty miles; northwestward they traveled one hundred and thirty miles, and westward up the Roanoke nearly if not quite as far as its waters are in North Carolina, and visited or coasted no less than eighteen of our present counties." *Hawks's History of North Carolina*, 1857, Vol. I. p. 108.







# THE THIRD VOYAGE TO AMERICA

UNDER THE CHARGE AND DIRECTION OF

SIR WALTER RALEGH, KNIGHT.

1586.



IN the yeere of our Lord 1586 Sir Walter Raleigh at his owne charge prepared a ship of an hundred tunne, freighted with all maner of things in most plentiful maner, for the supply and reliefe of his Colony then remaining in Virginia: <sup>128</sup>

but before they set saile from England it was after Easter, so that our Colony halfe despaired of the comming of any supply: wherefore euery man prepared for himselfe, determining

<sup>129</sup> From this point onward, Raleigh's enterprise of planting a colony in America seemed to move like a labored dream. Hardly had Lane and his company left for home when the ship which they had been anxiously looking for arrived, and, finding no Englishmen along the coast, in doubt and wonderment as to what had happened, this relieving party turned and went home. Soon after came Sir Richard Greenville, who left Lane and his men on the coast the

year before, but now could find none of them. He too, wondering what had transpired during the year, and where the one hundred and eight men were that he left, sailed back to England, taking the precaution to leave fifteen men at Roanoke, partly to hold the place, and partly to help any of their countrymen that might be found alive. This is called the Third Voyage, but from the cross-purposes attending it, it is necessarily brief.



ing resolutely to spend the residue of their life time in that countrey: And for the better performance of this their determination, they sowed, planted, and set such things as were necessary for their reliefe in so plentifull a maner as might haue sufficed them two yeeres without any further labour. Thus trusting to their owne haruest, they passed the Summer till the tenth of Iune: at which time their corne which they had sowed was within one fortnight of reaping: but then it happened that Sir Francis Drake in his prosperous returne from the sacking of Sant Domingo, Cartagena, and Saint Augustine, determined in his way homeward to visit his countrey men the English Colony then remaining in Virginia. So passing along the coasts of Florida, he fell with the parts where our English Colony inhabited: and hauing espied some of that company, there he ankered and went aland, where hee conferred with them of their state and welfare, and how things had past with them. They answered him that they liued all; but hitherto in some scarcety: and as yet could heare of no supply out of England: therefore they requested him that hee would leaue with them some two or three ships, that if in some reasonable time they heard not out of England, they might then returne themselves. Which hee agreed to. Whilest some were then writing their letters to send into England, and some others making reports of the accidents of their trauels ech to other, some on land, some on boord, a great storme arose, and droue the most of their fleet from their ankers to Sea, in which ships at that instant were the chiefe of the English Colony: the rest on land perceiuing this, hasted to those three failes which were appointed to be left there; and for feare they should be left behinde

behinde they left all things confusedly, as if they had bene chased from thence by a mighty army: and no doubt so they were; for the hand of God came vpon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by some of them against the natie inhabitants of that countrey.<sup>123</sup>

Immediatly after the departing of our English Colony out of this paradise of the world, the ship abouementioned sent and set forth at the charges of Sir Walter Raleigh and his direction, arriued at Hatorask; who after some time spent in seeking our Colony vp in the countrey, and not finding them, returned with all the aforesayd prouision into England.

About foureteene or fifteene dayes after the departure of the aforesayd shippe, Sir Richard Grinuile Generall of Virginia, accompanied with three shippes<sup>124</sup> well appointed for the same voyage, arriued there; who not finding the aforesaid shippe according to his expectation, nor hearing any newes of our English Colony there seated, and left by him anno 1585, himselfe traueilling vp into diuers places of the countrey, aswell to see if he could heare any newes of the Colony left there by him the yeere before, vnder the charge of Master Lane

<sup>123</sup> There is something healthful and comforting in this voice of indignation. It is like the cry that came back from England to New England after the first hostilities between the natives and the new settlers: "Would that you had conuerted some before you had killed any." Doubtless it was "impossible but that offences should come" both in the northern and southern colonies, but the wrong was quite as often on the part of the white man as the Indian, as it has

continued to be all along our western borders unto this day.

<sup>124</sup> It will be noticed that the *three ships* of Sir Richard Grenville belonged to the same expedition as the *one ship* which reached America fourteen or fifteen days earlier. That was loaded with provisions, and, though delayed beyond expectation in England, was sent in advance. Notice the expression that the three ships were "well appointed for the same voyage."

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Lane his deputy, as also to discouer some places of the countrey: but after some time spent therein, not hearing any newes of them, and finding the places which they inhabited desolate, yet vnwilling to loose the possession of the countrey which Englishmen had so long held: after good deliberation, hee determined to leaue some men behinde to reteine possession of the Countrey: whereupon he landed fifteene men in the Isle of Roanoak, furnished plentifully with all maner of prouision for two yeeres, and so departed for England.

Not long after he fell with the Isles of Açores, on some of which Islands he landed, and spoiled the townes of all such things as were woorth cariage, where also he tooke diuers Spanyards. With these many other exploits done by him in this voyage, aswell outward as homeward, he returned into England.





## INTRODUCTION TO THE NARRATIVE OF THOMAS HARIOT,

By RALPH LANE.

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*A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia: of the commodities there found, and to be raised, aswell merchantable as others: Written by Thomas Hariot seruant to Sir Walter Raleigh, a member of the Colony, and there employed in discovering a full twelue moneth.*<sup>125</sup>



RALPH LANE one of her Maiestie Esquiers, and Gouvernour of the Colony in Virginia, aboue mentioned, for the time there resident, to the gentle Reader wisheth all happines in the Lord.

ALbeit

<sup>125</sup> Thomas Hariot was but twenty-five years old when he joined the expedition to America, and this treatise was written two years later, in England. He was a mathematician of so much note and originality that it is said Des Cartes,

the French mathematician, published his improvements in algebra and palmed them off upon the French nation as his own. For a long course of years Des Cartes had the credit of them.

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ALbeit, gentle Reader, the credit of the reports in this Treatise contained can little be furthered by the testimony of one as my selfe, through affection iudged partiall, though without desert: neuerthelesse, forsomuch as I haue bene requested by some my particular friends, who conceiue more rightly of me, to deliuer freely my knowledge of the same, not onely for the satisfiing of them, but also for the true information of any other whosoever, that comes not with a preiudicate minde to the reading thereof: thus much vpon my credit I am to affirme, that things vniuerfally are so truely set downe in this Treatise by the authour thereof, an actor in the Colony, and a man no lesse for his honesty then learning commendable, as that I dare boldly auouch, it may very well passe with the credit of trueth euen amongst the most true relations of this age. Which as for mine owne part I am ready any way with my word to acknowledge, so also (of the certaintie thereof assured by mine owne experience) with this my publique assertion I doe affirme the same. Farewell in the Lord.





# HISTORICAL NARRATIVE,

By THOMAS HARIOT.

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*To the Adventurers, Favourers, and Welwillers of  
the enterprife for the inhabiting and planting in  
Virginia.*



SINCE the first vndertaking by Sir Walter Raleigh to deale in the action of discouering of that countrey which is now called and knowen by the name of Virginia, many voyages hauing beene thither made at fundry times to his great charge; as first in the yere 1584, and afterwards in the yeres 1585, 1586, and now of late this last yeere 1587: there haue bene diuers and variable reports, with some slanderous and shamefull speeches bruted abroad by many that returned from thence: especially of that discouery which was made by the Colony transported by Sir Richard Grin-uile in the yere 1585, being of all others the most principall, and as yet of most effect, the time of their abode in the  
country

country being a whole yere, when as in the other voyage before they stayed but fixe weeks, and the others after were onely for supply and transportation, nothing more being discovered then had bene before. Which reports haue not done a little wrong to many that otherwise would haue also fauoured and aduentured in the action, to the honour and benefit of our nation, besides the particular profit and credit which would redound to themselues the dealers therein, as I hope by the sequel of euent, to the shame of those that haue auouched the contrary, shall be manifest, if you the aduenturers, fauourers and welwillers doe but either increase in number, or in opinion continue, or hauing bene doubtfull, renew your good liking and furtherance to deale therein according to the woorthinesse thereof already found, and as you shall vnderstand hereafter to be requisit. Touching which woorthinesse through cause of the diuersity of relations and reports, many of your opinions could not be firme, nor the minds of some that are well disposed be settled in any certainty.

I haue therefore thought it good, being one that haue bene in the discouerie, and in dealing with the naturall inhabitants specially employed;<sup>126</sup> and hauing therefore seene and knowen more then the ordinary, to impart so much vnto you of the fruits of our labours, as that you may know how iniuriously the enterprise is slandered, and that in publique maner at this present, chiefly for two respects.

First,

<sup>126</sup> From this sentence we learn that Hariot, as was natural from his learning and character, was much engaged while in America, in intercourse with the natives, negotiating with them, and at the same time studying their habits and modes of life. This gives a special value to his report.

First, that some of you which are yet ignorant or doubtfull of the state thereof, may see that there is sufficient cause why the chiefe enterpriser with the fauour of her Maiesty, notwithstanding such reports, hath not onely since continued the action by sending into the countrey againe, and replanting this last yeere a new Colony, but is also ready, according as the times and meanes will affoord, to follow and prosecute the same.

Secondly, that you seeing and knowing the continuance of the action, by the view hereof you may generally know and learne what the countrey is, and thereupon consider how your dealing therein, if it proceed, may returne you profit and gaine, be it either by inhabiting and planting, or otherwise in furthering thereof.

And least that the substance of my relation should be doubtfull vnto you, as of others by reason of their diuersitie, I will first open the cause in a few words, wherefore they are so different, referring my selfe to your fauourable constructions, and to be adiudged of, as by good consideration you shall finde cause.

Of our company that returned, some for their misdemeanour and ill dealing in the countrey haue bene there worthily punished, who by reason of their bad natures, haue maliciously not onely spoken ill of their Gouvernours, but for their fakes slandered the countrey it selfe. The like also haue those done which were of their confort.

Some being ignorant of the state thereof, notwithstanding since their returne amongst their friends & acquaintance, and also others, especially if they were in company where they might not be gainsayd, would seeme to know so much

as



as no men more and make no men so great trauellers as themfelues.<sup>127</sup> They stood so much as it may seeme, vpon their credit and reputation, that hauing bene a twelue moneth in the countrey, it would haue bene a great disgrace vnto them, as they thought, if they could not haue sayd much, whether it were true or false. Of which some haue spoken of more then euer they saw, or otherwise knew to be there. Other some haue not bene ashamed to make absolute deniall of that, which although not by them, yet by others is most certainly and there plentifully knowen, & other some make difficulties of those things they haue no skill of.

The cause of their ignorance was, in that they were of that many that were neuer out of the Island where we were seated, or not farre, or at the leastwise in few places els, during the time of our abode in the countrey: or of that many, that after gold & siluer was not so soone found, as it was by them looked for, had litle or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies: or of that many which had litle vnderstanding, lesse discretion, and more tongue then was needfull or requisite.

Some also were of a nice bringing vp, only in cities or townes, or such as neuer (as I may say) had seene the world before. Because there were not to be found any English cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wish any of their old accustomed dainty food, nor any soft beds of downe or feathers, the countrey was to them miserable, and their reports thereof according.

Because

<sup>127</sup> Here is a bit of description, graphic and clear, showing that human nature three hundred years ago was very much as we see it to-day.

Because my purpose was but in briefto open the cause of the variety of such speeches, the particularities of them, and of many enuious, malicious, and slanderous reports and deuices els, by our owne countrey-men besides, as trifles that are not worthy of wise men to be thought vpon, I meane not to trouble you withall, but will passe to the commodities, the substance of that which I haue to make relation of vnto you.

The Treatise whereof, for your more ready view and easier vnderstanding, I will diuide into three speciall parts. In the first I will make declaration of such commodities there already found or to be raised, which will not onely serue the ordinary turnes of you which are and shall be the planters and inhabitants, but such an ouerplus sufficiently to be yeelded, or by men of skill to be prouided, as by way of traffique and exchange with our owne nation of England, will enrich yourselues the prouiders: those that shall deale with you, the enterprisers in generall, and greatly profit our owne countrey-men, to supply them with most things which heretofore they haue bene faine to prouide either of strangers or of our enemies, which commodities, for distinction sake, I call Merchantable.

In the second I will fet downe all the commodities which we know the country by our experience doth yeeld of it selfe for victuall and sustenance of mans life, such as are vsually fed vpon by the inhabitants of the country, as also by vs during the time we were there.

In the last part I will make mention generally of such other commodities besides, as I am able to remember, and as I shall thinke behooeull for those that shall inhabit, and

plant there to know of, which specially concerne building, as also some other necessary vses: with a briefe description of the nature and maners of the people of the countrey.

*The first part of Merchantable commodities.*

Silke of grasse, or Grasse filke. There is a kind of grasse in the country, vpon the blades whercof there groweth very good filke in forme of a thin glittering skin to be stript off. It groweth two foot & an halfe high or better: the blades are about two foot in length, and halfe an inch broad. The like groweth in Persia, which is in the selfesame climate as Virginia, of which very many of the Silke works that come from thence into Europe are made. Hereof if it be planted and ordered as in Persia, it cannot in reason be otherwise, but that there will rise in short time great profit to the dealers therein, seeing there is so great vse and vent thereof aswel in our countrey as elswhere. And by the meanes of sowing and planting it in good ground, it will be farre greater, better, and more plentifull then it is. Although notwithstanding there is great store thereof in many places of the countrey growing naturally and wild, which also by prooffe here in England, in making a piece of Silke grogran, we found to be excellent good.<sup>128</sup>

Worme

<sup>128</sup> What plant exactly is meant by this *grass-filk* it is difficult to determine. Writers like Hawks and Lawson, familiar with all the natural productions of modern Virginia and North Carolina, do not recognize any plant exactly answering this description. Pickering, in his *Chronological History of Plants*, p. 908,

calls it *Asclepias Cornuti*. Curtis names it *Chrysopsis graminifolia*. Sereno Watson, Ph.D., of Harvard College, to whom we are specially indebted for aid in fixing the botanical names on the various plants and trees mentioned in Harriot's narrative, thinks this *grass-filk* was *Yucca filamentosa*.

Worme filke. In many of our iourneys we found Silke wormes faire and great, as bigge as our ordinary Walnuts. Although it hath not bene our hap to haue found such plenty, as elswhere to be in the countrey we haue heard of, yet seeing that the countrey doth naturally breed and nourish them, there is no doubt but if arte be added in planting of Mulberie trees, and others fit for them in commodious places, for their feeding & nourishing, and some of them carefully gathered & husbanded in that sort, as by men of skil is knowen to be necessary: there wil rise as great profit in time to the Virginians, as thereof doth now to the Persians, Turks, Italians, and Spanyards.<sup>129</sup>

Flaxe

<sup>129</sup> In this paragraph it seems to be implied, though not directly stated, that while the silk-worm was found in Virginia, the mulberry-tree, *Morus rubra*, was wanting. Later, however, Hariot gives the mulberry as one of the natural growths of the country. In this passage he means to say, probably, that mulberry-trees would have to be systematically planted and cultivated before the silk culture could be profitably carried on. When Hariot speaks of "silke-wormes faire and great, as large as our ordinary walnuts," he has reference, we may suppose, to the cocoons.

Strachey, whom we have already quoted, and shall have frequent occasion to do so as we pass on, says: "By their dwellings are some great mulberry-trees, and these, in some parte of the country are found growing naturally in pretty groves: there was an essay made to make filke, and surely the wormes prospered excellently well until the master workeman fell sick, during which tyme they were eaten with rattts, and this will be a commoditie not meanelly profitable. Now yt is seriously considered of and or-

der taken that yt shalbe duly followed." It will be all the while borne in mind that Strachey writes from the Virginia of 1607 on the James River; but the natural productions are not probably very unlike those of the region which Hariot visited in the northern part of the present North Carolina. *Travaile into Virginia*, Hakluyt Society, 1849, p. 117.

In connection with this subject the following lines, copied from a lengthy poem, will be found curious:—

"Where Wormes and Food doe naturally abound,  
A Gallant Silken Trade must there be found:  
Virginia excells the World in both,  
Envie nor Malice can gaine say this troth.  
Many a man the causes faine would heare,  
How these rare Wormes came first or still come there.

They feed not only on the Mulberry  
Which in our World sole food is held to be  
For all such precious Wormes of that degree:  
But Poplar, Plum, Crab, Oake and Apple tree,

Yea

Flaxe<sup>180</sup> and Hempe.<sup>181</sup> The trueth is, that of Hempe and Flaxe there is no great store in any one place together, by reason it is not planted but as the soile doth yeeld of it felfe: and howsoever the leafe and stemme or stalke do differ from ours, the stuffe by iudgement of men of skill is altogether as good as ours: and if not, as further prooffe should finde otherwise, we haue that experience of the soile, as that there cannot be shewed any reason to the contrary, but that it will grow there excellent well, and by planting will be yeelded plentifully, seeing there is so much ground whereof some may well be applied to such purposes. What benefit hereof may grow in cordage and linnens who cannot easily vnderstand?

Allum.<sup>182</sup> There is a veine of earth along the sea coast for the space of fortie or fiftie miles, whereof by the iudgement of some that haue made triall here in England, is made good Allum, of that kind which is called Roch allum. The richnesse of such a commodity is so wel known, that I need not

Yea Cherry, and tree called Pohickery:  
So on the Shrubs and Buthes feed full  
many.

Her Worms are huge whose bottoms dare  
With Lemmons of the largest size com-  
pare.

And twenty one of ours will sure poise  
lefs

Then one of theirs for weight and pon-  
derousnes

Maister William Wright of Nanfamound  
Found Bottoms above seven Inches round.

Five hundred pounds worth of rich Silk,  
all know,

Fraights lefs then ten pounds in poore  
Tobacco,

Silkes are no trash, no toy, nor Pedlars  
ware;

Staple, good, and ready chinke every  
where,  
Twenty shillings a pound 't will yield you  
cleare,  
And Ships to fetch it will come flying  
there.

— *The Reformed Virginian Silk-Worm.*  
*Forcé's Historical Tracts*, Vol. III. p. 31.

<sup>180</sup> Flaxe, *Linum Virginianum*.

<sup>181</sup> Hariot had reference probably to the plant *Apocynum cannabinum*, or common Indian hemp.

<sup>182</sup> On this subject of alum and alum-earth Hariot does not speak very positively, and North Carolina is not specially known for this production.

not to say any thing thereof. The same earth doth also yeeld White coprasse, Nitrum, and Alumen plumeum, but nothing so plentifully as the common Allum, which be also of price and profitable.

Wapeih. A kind of earth so called by the naturall inhabitants, very like to Terra sigillata, and hauing bene refined, it hath bene found by some of our Physicians and Chyrurgians, to be of the same kind of vertue, and more effectuell. The inhabitants vse it very much for the cure of sores and wounds: there is in diuers places great plenty, and in some places of a blew sort.

Pitch, Tarre, Rozen and Turpentine. There are those kinds of trees which yeeld them abundantly and great store. In the very same Island where we were seated, being fiftene miles of length, and foue or fixe miles in breadth, there are few trees els but of the same kinde, the whole Island being full.<sup>133</sup>

Sassafras,<sup>134</sup> called by the inhabitants Winauk, a kind of wood

<sup>133</sup> The Pine abounded all along this coast, and far back among the hills and mountains. Some of the more common species were the yellow Southern pine, *Pinus australis*; old-field, *Pinus Tada*; pitch, *Pinus rigida*. North Carolina has long been noted for its stores of pitch, tar, turpentine, and lumber. Harriot tells us that the island of Roanoke was densely covered with the trees producing these materials.

Strachey says: "There are pines infinite especially by the sea coast, and manie other sortes the use of which are commodious for shipping, pipe-staves, clapboard, yarges and masts for shipping, and those here are so faire and large, as a ship of three hundred tonne

burthen called the Starre (sent thither the last yeare upon purpose fitted and prepared with scupper-holes to take in masts) was not able to stowe forty of the fower score unless they should cut them shorter." *Travaile into Virginia*, Hakluyt Society, 1849, p. 130.

<sup>134</sup> The sassafras-tree, *Sassafras officinale* of North America, found from Canada to Florida, a small tree in the north, but often of fifty feet in height in the south. Sassafras was in great repute in the early history of this continent. *Vide Champlain's Voyages*, Prince Society ed., Vol. II., note 205.

"The Sassafras tree is no great Tree. I have met with some as big as my middle: the rind is tawny and upon that a thin

wood of most pleasant and sweet smell, and of most rare vertues in physicke for the cure of many diseases. It is found by experience to be far better and of more uses then the wood which is called Guaiacum, or Lignum vitae. For the description, the maner of vsing, and the manifold vertues thereof, I refer you to the booke of Monardes,<sup>136</sup> translated and entituled in English, The ioyfull newes from the West Indies.

Cedar.<sup>136</sup> A very sweet wood and fine timber, whereof if nests of chests be there made or timber thereof fitted for sweet and fine bedstedes, tables, desks, lutes, virginals, and many things els, (of which there hath bene prooffe made already) to make vp freight with other principall commodities, will yeeld profit.

Wine. There are two kindes of grapes<sup>137</sup> that the soile doth yeeld naturally, the one is small and soure, of the ordinary bignesse as ours in England, the other farre greater and of himselfe lushious sweet. When they are planted and husbanded as they ought, a principall commodity of wines by them may be raised.

Oile. There are two sorts of Walnuts,<sup>138</sup> both holding oile; but the one farre more plentifull then the other. When there are mils and other deuices for the purpose, a commodity

thin colour of Ashes, the inner part is white of an excellent smell like Fennel of a sweet tast with some bitterness: the leaves are like Fig-leaves of a dark green." *Josselyn's Two Voyages to New England*, Boston, 1865, p. 55.

<sup>136</sup> Monardes, a Spanish physician, resident at Saville, who wrote on plants and drugs. He died in 1578.

<sup>136</sup> Cedar, *Juniperus Virginiana*, one of the *Conifera*, or Pine family.

<sup>137</sup> The two kinds of grapes were the summer grape, *Vitis aestivalis*, and the larger kind, the fox grape, *Vitis vulpina*.

<sup>138</sup> The two varieties of the walnut were the white heart, *Carya tomentosa*, and the shell-bark, *Carya alba*.

ity of them may be raised, because there are infinite store. There are also three severall kindes of berries in the forme of Oke-akornes<sup>139</sup> which also by the experience and vse of the inhabitants, we find to yeeld very good and sweet oile. Furthermore, the beares of the countrey are commonly very fat, and in some places there are many. Their fatnesse, because it is so liquid, may well be termed oile, and hath many speciall vses.

Furres. All along the Sea coast there are great store of Otters, which being taken by weares and other engines made for the purpose, wil yeeld good profit. We hope also of Marterne<sup>140</sup> furres, and make no doubt by the relation of the people, but that in some places of the countrey there are store, although there were but two skinnes that came to our hands. Luzernes also we haue vnderstanding of, although for the time we saw none.

Deers<sup>141</sup> skinnes dressed after the maner of Chamoës, or vndressed, are to be had, of the naturall inhabitants thousands yerely by way of traffike for trifles, and no more waste or spoile of Deere then is and hath bene ordinarily in time before.

Ciuet-cats.<sup>142</sup> In our trauels there was found one to haue  
bin

<sup>139</sup> The "oke acornes" here spoken of are from various species of the *Quercus*.

<sup>140</sup> There were otters, *Lutra Canadensis*, and martens, *Mustela Americana*, in North Carolina: but these animals are far more abundant in colder regions, in the northern portions of America. By the word "Luzerne" in the text is meant probably the lynx, *Felis Canadensis*.

<sup>141</sup> That is, the deer, *Cervus Vir-*

*ginianus*, was hunted for food, and an immense number of skins were thus secured, which were of subordinate value, as the hunter sought them chiefly for the flesh.

<sup>142</sup> Civet-cats, *Ivorra civetta*. Harriot does not speak very fully or confidently about this animal as an inhabitant of North Carolina. He thinks it was there in his time. If so, it was not common in that region. Its best-known home is in the north of Africa.



bin killed by a Sauage or inhabitant, & in another place the smel where one or more had lately bene before, whereby we gather, besides then by the relation of the people, that there are some in the countrey: good profit will rise by them.

Iron. In two places of the countrey specially, one about fourescore, & the other six score miles from the fort or place where we dwelt, we found nere the water side the ground to be rocky, which by the triall of a Minerall man was found to holde iron richly. It is found in many places of the countrey els: I know nothing to the contrary, but that it may be allowed for a good merchantable commodity, considering there the small charge for the labour & feeding of men, the infinite store of wood, the want of wood & deerence thereof in England, and the necessity of ballasting of ships.

Copper. An hundred and fifty miles into the maine in two townes we found with the inhabitants diuers small plates of Copper, that had bene made as we vnderstood by the inhabitants that dwell further into the country, where as they say are mountaines and riuers that yeeld also white graines of mettall, which is to be deemed Siluer. For confirmation thereof, at the time of our first arriual in the countrey, I saw, with some others with me, two small pieces of Siluer grossly beaten, about the weight of a testron, hanging in the eares of a Wiroans or chiefe lord that dwelt about fourescore miles from vs: of whom through inquiry, by the number of dayes and the way, I learned that it had come to his hands from the same place or neere, where I after vnderstood the Copper was made, and the white graines of metall found. The aforeseyd Copper we also found by tryall to holde Siluer.

Pearle.

Pearle. Sometimes in feeding on Muscles we found some Pearle: but it was our happe to meet with ragges, or of a pide colour: not hauing yet discouered those places where we heard of better and more plenty. One of our company, a man of skill in such matters, had gathered together from among the Sauage people about fīue thousand: of which number he chose so many as made a faire chaine, which for their likenesse and uniformity in roundnesse, orientnesse, and pidenesse of many excellent colours, with equality in greatnesse, were very faire and rare: and had therefore beene presented to her Maiesty, had we not by casualty, and through extremity of a storme lost them, with many things els in comming away from the countrey.

Sweet gummes of diuers kinds, and many other Apothecary drugges, of which we will make speciall mention, when we shall receiue it from such men of skill in that minde, that in taking reasonable paines shal discouer them more particularly then we haue done, and then now I can make relation of, for want of the examples I had prouided and gathered, and are now lost, with other things by casualty before mentioned.

Dies of diuers kinds: There is Shoemake,<sup>148</sup> well knownen, and vsed in England for blacke: the seed of an herbe called Wasebur, little small roots called Chappacor, and the barke of the tree called by the inhabitants Tangomockconomindge: which dies are for diuers sorts of red: their goodnesse for our English clothes remaine yet to be prooued. The inhabitants vse them only for the dying of haire, and colouring of their faces, and mantles made of Deere skinner: and also

<sup>148</sup> Shoemake, the Sumach, *Rhus copallina*.

also for the dying of rushes to make artificiall works withall in their mats and baskets: hauing no other thing besides that they account of, apt to vse them for. If they will not prooue merchantable, there is no doubt but the planters there shall finde apt vses for them, as also for other colours which we know to be there.

Woad : <sup>144</sup> a thing of so great vent and vses amongst English Diers, which cannot be yeelded sufficiently in our owne country for spare of ground, may be planted in Virginia, there being ground enough. The growth thereof need not be doubted, when as in the Islands of the Açores it groweth plentifully, which are in the same climate. So likewise of Madder.

We carried thither Suger-canes to plant, which being not so well preserued as was requisite, and besides the time of the yeere being past for their setting when we arriued, we could not make that prooue of them as we desired. Notwithstanding, seeing that they grow in the same climate, in the South part of Spaine, and in Barbary, our hope in reason may yet continue.<sup>145</sup> So likewise for Orenge and Limmons. There may be planted also Quinces. Whereby may grow in reasonable time, if the action be diligently prosecuted, no small commodities in Sugars, Suckets, and Marmelades.

Many

<sup>144</sup> Woad, *Isatis tinctoria*. The tree whose bark furnished a red color was very likely *Juglans cinerea*, the butternut.

<sup>145</sup> What Hariot suggests here may be true as a matter of fact, but his method of reasoning is wrong. The

same things do not grow on the same parallels of latitude all the world over. The isothermal lines, which determine the products, do not agree with the lines of latitude. Our own country affords very striking illustrations of this.

Many other commodities by planting may there also be raised, which I leaue to your discreet and gentle considerations: and many also may be there, which yet we haue not discovered. Two more commodities of great value, one of certenty, and the other in hope, not to be planted, but there to be raised and in short time to be prouided, and prepared, I might haue specified. So likewise of those commodities already set downe I might haue sayd more: as of the particular places where they are found, and best to be planted and prepared: by what meanes, and in what reasonable space of time they might be raised to profit, and in what proportion: but because others then welwillers might be there withall acquainted, not to the good of the action, I haue wittingly omitted them: knowing that to those that are well disposed, I haue vttered, according to my promise and purpose, for this part sufficient.<sup>146</sup>

*The second part of such commodities as Virginia is known to yeeld for victuall and sustenance of mans life, vsually fed vpon by the naturall inhabitants; as also by vs, during the time of our abode: and first of such as are sowed and husbanded.*

PAgatour, a kinde of graine so called by the inhabitants: the same in the West Indies is called Mayz: English men call it Guiny-wheat or Turkey-wheat, according to the names  
of

<sup>146</sup> What the precise dangers were these agricultural topics it is difficult which Hariot thought might arise from now to determine. They were doubt-giving full and exact information on all less well understood by him.

of the countreys from whence the like hath beene brought. The graine is about the bignesse of our ordinary English peaze, and not much different in forme and shape: but of diuers colours: some white, some red, some yellow, and some blew. All of them yeeld a very white and sweet flowre: being vsed according to his kinde, it maketh a very good bread. We made of the same in the countrey some Mault, whereof was brewed as good Ale as was to be desired. So likewise by the helpe of Hops, thereof be made as good Beere. It is a graine of maruellous great increase: of a thousand fiteene hundred, and some two thousand folde. There are three sorts, of which two are ripe in eleuen & twelue weeks at the most, sometimes in tenne, after the time they are set, and are then of height in stalke about fixe or seuen foot. The other sort is ripe in foureteene, and is about tenne foot high, of the stalks some beare foure heads, some three, some one, and some two: euery head conteyning fve, fixe, or seuen hundred graines, within a few more or lesse. Of these grains, besides bread, the inhabitants make victuall, either by parching them, or seething them whole vntill they be broken: or boiling the flowre with water into a pap.<sup>147</sup>

Okingier,

<sup>147</sup> Hariot gives a different Indian name for corn, *Zea Mays*, from those before given. He calls it *pagatour*. Strachey calls it *poketawes*. References have been made to this article in notes 81 and 115. In the paragraph before us the writer furnishes some information not before given about this important crop. The Indians had their varieties of early and late corn, as we now have. The early could be grown in ten or twelve weeks, and the other in fourteen weeks. This early corn

might be brought within the limits of Barlowe's statement, if we suppose it planted early in May and gathered late in July. We have already referred to Strachey's statement, showing that the natives gathered the corn green, for early use, as we do, and we may naturally understand Barlowe's estimate of the time of growing the crop to reach only to the gathering of the green corn. Of all the vegetable growths found by the early settlers of the new world, corn was the most valuable. Some contend that

Okingier, called by vs Beanes,<sup>148</sup> because in greatnesse and partly in shape they are like to the Beanes in England, fauing that they are flatter, of more diuers colors, and some pide. The leafe also of the stemme is much different. In taste they are altogether as good as our English peaze.

Wickouzowr, called by vs Peaze,<sup>149</sup> in respect of the Beanes, for distinction sake, because they are much lesse, although in forme they little differ: but in goodnesse of taste much like, and are far better than our English Peaze. Both the beanes and peaze are ripe in ten weeks after they are set. They make them victuall either by boiling them all to pieces into a broth, or boiling them whole vntill they be soft, and beginne to breake, as is vsed in England, either by themselues, or mixtly together: sometime they mingle of the Wheat with them: sometime also, being whole sodden, they bruse or punne them in a mortar, and thereof make loaues or lumps of doughish bread, which they vse to eat for variety.

Macocquer, according to their feuerall formes, called by vs Pompions,<sup>150</sup> Melons,<sup>151</sup> and Gourds,<sup>152</sup> because they are of the like formes as those kinds in England. In Virginia such of feuerall formes are of one taste, and very good, and do also spring

that this crop was once known in the Eastern world many centuries before the discovery of America. But it is well nigh incredible that the race should ever allow such a treasure as this to perish and be forgotten on its hands. The Indians of this continent had had it so long that they had learned the true methods of raising it, and in this respect we have done little more than adopt their rules. In ways of cooking it we have greatly enlarged upon their knowledge. It will be noticed here that

Hariot gives the increase of the crop as "a thousand fifteen hundred, and some, two thousand fold."

<sup>148</sup> Beans, *Phaseolus vulgaris*.

<sup>149</sup> Peaze. Probably another variety of the same, perhaps *Phaseolus diversiflorus*.

<sup>150</sup> Pompions, pumpkins, *Cucurbita pepo*, cultivated by the Indians with their corn.

<sup>151</sup> Melons, *Cucumis Melo*.

<sup>152</sup> Gourds, *Cucurbita ovifera*. The identification of these three is not certain.

spring from one seed. There are of two sorts: one is ripe in the space of a moneth, and the other in two moneths.

There is an herbe which in Dutch is called Melden. Some of those that I describe it vnto take it to be a kinde of Orage: it groweth about foure or fiue foot high: of the seed thereof they make a thicke broth, and pottage of a very good taste: of the stalke by burning into ashes they make a kinde of salt earth, wherewithall many vse sometimes to season their broths: other salt they know not. We our selues vsed the leaues also for pot-herbs.

There is also another great herbe, in forme of a Marigolde, about fixe foot in height, the head with the floure is a spanne in breadth. Some take it to be *Planta Solis*: of the seeds hereof they make both a kinde of bread and broth.<sup>168</sup>

All the aforeseyd commodities for victuall are set or sowed, sometimes in grounds apart and seuerally by themselues, but for the most part together in one ground mixtly: the maner thereof, with the dressing and preparing of the ground, because I will note vnto you the fertility of the soile, I thinke good briefly to describe.

The ground they neuer fatten with mucke, dung, or any other thing, neither plow nor digge it as we in England, but onely prepare it in sort as followeth. A few dayes before they sowe or set, the men with wooden instruments made almost in forme of mattocks or hoes with long handles: the women with short peckers or parers, because they vse them fitting, of a foot long, and about fiue inches in breadth, doe onely breake the vpper part of the ground to raise vp the weeds,

<sup>168</sup> Sun-flower, *Helianthus annuus*.

weeds, grasse, and olde stubbes of corne stalks with their roots. The which after a day or two dayes drying in the Sunne, being scrapt vp into many small heaps, to saue them labour for carying them away, they burne into ashes. And whereas some may thinke that they vse the ashes for to better the ground, I say that then they would either disperse the ashes abroad, which wee obserued they do not, except the heaps be too great, or els would take speciall care to set their corne where the ashes lie, which also wee finde they are carelesse of. And this is all the husbanding of their ground that they vse.

Then their setting or sowing is after this maner. First for their corne, beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pecker they make a hole, wherein they put foure graines, with care that they touch not one another (about an inch asunder) & couer them with the molde againe: and so thorow-out the whole plot making such holes, and vsing them after such maner, but with this regard, that they be made in ranks, euery ranke differing from other halfe a fadome or a yard, and the holes also in euery ranke as much. By this meanes there is a yard spare ground betweene euery hole: where according to discretion here and there, they set as many Beanes and Peaze; in diuers places also among the seeds of Macocquer, Melden, and Planta Solis.

The ground being thus set according to the rate by vs experimented, an English acre conteining forty pearches in length, and foure in breadth, doth there yeeld in crophe or of corne, Beanes and Peaze, at the least two hundred London bushels, besides the Macocquer, Melden, and Planta Solis;



Solis; when as in England forty bushels of our Wheat yeelded out of such an acre is thought to be much.<sup>164</sup>

I thought also good to note this vnto you, that you which shall inhabit, and plant there, may know how specially that countrey corne is there to be preferred before ours: besides, the manifold wayes in applying it to victual, the increase is so much, that small labor & paines is needful in respect of that which must be vsed for ours. For this I can assure you that according to the rate we haue made prooue of, one man may prepare and husband so much ground (hauing once borne corne before) with lesse then foure and twenty houres labour, as shall yeeld him victual in a large proportion for a tweluemonth, if he haue nothing els but that which the same ground will yeeld, and of that kinde onely which I haue before spoken of: the sayd ground being also but of fve and twenty yards square. And if need require, but that there is ground enough, there might be raised out of one and the selfesame ground two harvests or ofcomes: for they sow or set, and may at any time when they thinke good, from the midst of March vntill the end of Iune: so that they also set when they haue eaten of their first croppe. In some places of the countrey notwithstanding they haue two harvests, as we haue heard, out of one and the same ground.

For

<sup>164</sup> Several plants in the preceding pages are mentioned of which only the Indian names are given. Mr. Watson, of Harvard College, suggests that Oppenauk is the ground nut, *Apios tuberosa*; that the Okeepenauk is a fungous subterranean growth, the "Tuckahoe," *Pachyma cocos*; that the Tfinaw is *Smilax pseudo-China*; that Colcushaw may

have been *Sagittaria variabilis*; that Habascon is *Ligusticum altissimum*; that the Orage is *Suaeda maritima*; the Mutaquesunauk is the *Opuntia vulgaris*, or prickly pear; that the Sacquennumner is the *Orontium aquaticum*. The Leeks spoken of in this immediate connection are *Allium Canadense* and *Allium mutabile*.

For English come neuerthelesse, whether to vse or not to vse it, you that inhabit may doe as you shall haue further cause to thinke best. Of the growth you need not to doubt: for Barley, Oats, and Peaze, we haue seene proofe of, not being purposely sown, but fallen casually in the woorst sort of ground, and yet to be as faire as any we haue euer seene heere in England. But of Wheat, because it was musty, and had taken salt water, we could make no triall: and of Rie we had none. Thus much haue I digressed, and I hope not vnnesarily: now will I returne againe to my course, and intreat of that which yet remaineth, appertaining to this chapter.

There is an herbe which is sowed apart by it selfe, and is called by the inhabitants Vppowoc: <sup>166</sup> in the West Indies it hath

<sup>166</sup> Uppowoc, *Nicotiana rustica*. Just as we can discover a certain resemblance in found between Strachey's Indian word for corn, *poketawes*, and Hariot's *pagatour*, so Strachey's Indian for tobacco is *apooke*, and Hariot's is *uppowoc*.

Dr. F. X. Martin says: "The English in their intercourse with the Indians, acquired a relish for their favorite employment of smoking tobacco. The plant grew spontaneous in the country: the natives called it *upperwick*. They cured and dried the leaves and ground it into powder." *History of North Carolina*, 1829, Vol. I. p. 20.

Strachey says: "There is here great store of tobacco, which the salvages call *apooke*; howbeit yt is not of the best kynd, yt is but poore and weake, and of a byting tast, yt growes not fully a yard above ground, bearing a little yellowe flower, like to hennebane, the leaues are short and thick, some what

round at the upper end; whereas the best tobacco of Trynidado and the Oronoque is large, sharpe, and growing two or three yardes from the ground, bearing a flower of the bredth of our bell-flowers in England: the salvages here dry the leaves of this *apooke* over the fier, and sometymes in the sun, and crumble it into poulder, stalks, leaves and all, taking the same in pipes of earth which very ingeniously they can make. We observe that those Indians which have one, twoo or more women, take much, — but such as have yet no appropriate woman take little or none at all." *Travaile into Virginia*, Hakluyt Society, 1849, p. 121.

Hariot himself formed the habit of taking it while he was spending his year in the wilderness of the New World, and carried the habit back with him to England. He tried to think it was doing him good, as thousands and tens of thousands since have tried to think the

hath diuers names, according to the feuerall places and countreys where it groweth and is vsed : the Spanyards generally call it Tabacco. The leaues thereof being dried and brought into powder, they vse to take the fume or smoake thereof, by sucking it thorow pipes made of clay, into their stomacke and head ; from whence it purgeth superfluous fleame and other grosse humours, and openeth all the pores and passages of the body ; by which meanes the vse thereof not onely preserueth the body from obstructions, but also (if any be, so that they haue not bene of too long continuance) in short time breaketh them ; whereby their bodies are notably preserued in health, and know not many grieuous diseases, where-withall we in England are often times afflicted.

This Vppowoc is of so precious estimation amongst them, that

the same, when they had once formed the habit and did not find it easy or convenient to give it up.

"Lane carried some tobacco to England, supposed by Camden to have been the first ever introduced into that kingdom. Sir Walter Raleigh, by his example, soon rendered the use of this seductive leaf fashionable at court ; and his tobacco-box and pipe were long preserved by the curiosity of antiquaries. It is related that having offered Queen Elizabeth some tobacco to smoke, after two or three whiffs she was seized with a nausea, upon observing which some of the Earl of Leicester's faction whispered that Sir Walter had certainly poisoned her. But her majesty in a short while recovering made the Countess of Nottingham and all her maids smoke a whole pipe out among them." *Campbell's History of Virginia*, p. 25.

"He was the first that brought tobacco into England, and into fashion. In our

part of North Wilts, — e. g. Malmesbury hundred, — it came first into fashion by S<sup>r</sup> Walter Long. They had first silver pipes. The ordinary sort made use of a walnut-shell and a strawe. I have heard my gr. father Lyte say, that one pipe was handed from man to man round about the table. S<sup>r</sup> W. R. standing in a stand at S<sup>r</sup> Ro. Poyntz parke at Acton, tooke a pipe of tobacco, w<sup>h</sup> made the ladies quitt it till he had donne. Within these 35 years, it was scandalous for a divine to take tobacco. It was sold then for its wayte in silver. I have heard some of our old yeomen neighbors (Josias Taylor) say, that when they went to Malmesbury or Chippenham market, they culled out their biggest shillings to lay in the scales against the tobacco : now, the customes of it are the greatest his majtie hath." Aubrey MSS., quoted in the *Works of Sir Walter Raleigh*, London, 1829, Vol. VIII. pp. 738, 739.

that they thinke their gods are maruellously delighted therewith: whereupon sometime they make hallowed fires, and cast some of the powder therein for a sacrifice: being in a storme vpon the waters, to pacifie their gods, they cast some vp into the aire, and into the water: so a weare for fish being newly set vp, they cast some therein and into the aire: also after an escape of danger, they cast some into the aire likewise: but all done with strange gestures, stamping, sometime dancing, clapping of hands, holding vp of hands, and staring vp into the heauens, vttering therewithall, and chattering strange words and noises.

We our selues, during the time we were there, vsed to sucke it after their maner, as also since our returne, and haue found many rare and woonderfull experiments of the vertues thereof: of which the relation would require a volume by it selfe: the vse of it by so many of late men and women of great calling, as els, and some learned Physicians also, is sufficient witnesse.

And these are all the commodities for sustenance of life, that I know and can remember, they vse to husband: all els that follow, are found growing naturally or wilde.

### *Of Roots.*

OPenauk are a kinde of roots of round forme, some of the bignesse of Walnuts, some farre greater, which are found in moist and marish grounds, growing many together one by another in ropes, as though they were fastened with a string. Being boiled or sodden, they are very good meat. Monardes calleth these roots, Beads or Pater nostri of Santa Helena.

Okeepenauk

Okeepenauk are also of round shape, found in dry grounds: some are of the bignesse of a mans head. They are to be eaten as they are taken out of the ground: for by reason of their driness they will neither roste nor feede. Their taste is not so good as of the former roots: notwithstanding for want of bread, and sometimes for variety the inhabitants use to eat them with fish or flesh, and in my iudgement they do as well as the household bread made of Rye here in England.

Kaishucpenauk, a white kinde of roots about the bignesse of hennes egges, and neerer of that forme: their taste was not so good to our seeming as of the other, and therefore their place and manner of growing not so much cared for by vs: the inhabitants notwithstanding used to boile and eat many.<sup>156</sup>

Tfinaw, a kinde of root much like unto that which in England is called the China root brought from the East Indies. And we know not any thing to the contrary but that it may be of the same kinde. These roots grow many together in great clusters, and do bring forth a brier stalke, but the leafe in shape farre vnlike: which being supported by the trees it groweth neereft unto, will reach or climbe to the top of the highest. From these roots while they be new or fresh, being chopt into small pieces, and stamp't, is strained with water, a iuice that maketh bread, and also being boiled, a very good spoonmeat in manner of a gelly, and is much better in taste, if it be tempered with oile. This Tfinaw is not  
of

<sup>156</sup> The potato, *Solanum tuberosum*, Europe went in Spanish ships from South America. It is now very well settled that the potato was not native to North America.

of that sort, which by some was caused to be brought into England for the China root ; for it was discovered since, and is in vse as is aforesayd : but that which was brought hither is not yet knowen, neither by vs nor by the inhabitants to serue for any vse or purpose, although the roots in shape are very like.

Cosculhaw some of our company tooke to be that kinde of root which the Spanyards in the West Indies call Caf-fauy, whereupon also many called it by that name: it groweth in very muddy pooles, and moist grounds. Being dressed according to the countrey maner, it maketh a good bread, and also a good spoonmeat, and is vsed very much by the inhabitants. The iuice of this root is poison, & therefore heed must be taken before any thing be made therewithall: either the roost must be first sliced and dried in the Sunne, or by the fire, and then being punned into floure, will make good bread: or els while they are greene they are to be pared, cut in pieces, and stampd: loaues of the same to be layd nere or ouer the fire vntill it be soure; and then being well punned againe, bread or spoonmeat very good in taste and holesome may be made thereof.<sup>187</sup>

Habascon is a root of hote taste, almost of the forme and bignesse of a Parsnip: of it selfe it is no victuall, but onely a helpe, being boiled together with other meats.

There are also Leeks, differing little from ours in England, that grow in many places of the countrey; of which, when we came in places where they were, we gathered and eat many, but the naturall inhabitants neuer.

*Of Fruits.*

<sup>187</sup> *Tsinaw* and *Cosinshaw* have been referred to in note 116.

*Of Fruits.*

CHefnuts<sup>158</sup> there are in diuers places great store: some they vse to eat raw, some they stampe and boile to make spoonmeat, and with some being sodden, they make such a maner of dough bread as they vse of their beanes before mentioned.

Walnuts. There are two kinds of Walnuts, and of them infinite store: in many places where are very great woods for many miles together, the third part of trees are Walnut trees. The one kinde is of the same taste and forme, or little differing from ours of England, but that they are harder and thicker shelled: the other is greater, and hath a very ragged and hard shell: but the kernel great, very oily and sweet. Besides their eating of them after our ordinary maner, they breake them with stones, and punne them in morters with water, to make a milke which they vse to put into some sorts of their spoonmeat: also among their fodde wheat, peaze, beanes, and pompions, which maketh them haue a farre more pleasant taste.

Medlars, a kinde of very good fruit: so called by vs chiefly for these respects: first in that they are not good vntill they be rotten, then in that they open at the head as our Medlars, and are about the same bignesse: otherwise in taste and colour they are farre different; for they are as red as cherries, and very sweet: but whereas the chery is sharpe sweet, they are lushious sweet.<sup>159</sup>

Mutaquesunnauk,

<sup>158</sup> Chestnuts, *Castanea pumila*.

*tomentosa* or possibly *Amelanchier Ca-*

<sup>159</sup> Medlar, this may be *Crataegus*

*nadenfis*.

Mutaquesunnauk, a kinde of pleasant fruit almost of the shape and bignesse of English peares, but that they are of a perfect red colour as well within as without. They grow on a plant whose leaues are very thicke, and full of prickles as sharpe as needles. Some that haue bene in the Indies, where they haue seene that kind of red die of great price, which is called Cochinile, to grow, doe describe his plant right like vnto this of Mutaquesunnauk; but whether it be the true Cochinile, or a bastard or wilde kinde, it cannot yet be certified, seeing that also, as I heard, Cochinile is not of the fruit, but found on the leaues of the plant: which leaues for such matter we haue not so specially obserued.

Grapes there are of two sorts, which I mentioned in the merchantable commodities.

Strawberries<sup>100</sup> there are as good and as great as those which we haue in our English gardens.

Mulberies, Applecrabs,<sup>101</sup> Hurts or Hurtleberries,<sup>102</sup> such as we haue in England.

Sacquenummeuer, a kinde of berries almost like vnto Capers, but somewhat greater, which grow together in clusters vpon a plant or hearbe that is found in shallow waters: being boiled eight or nine houres according to their kinde, are very good meat and holesome; otherwise if they be eaten they will make a man for the time frantike or extremely sicke.

There is a kinde of Reed which beareth a seed almost like vnto our Rie or Wheat; and being boiled is good meat.

In our trauels in some places we found Wilde peaze like  
vnto

<sup>100</sup> Strawberries, *Fragaria Virginiana*.

<sup>101</sup> Applecrabs, *Pyrus angustifolia*.

<sup>102</sup> Hurtleberries, under this name may be embraced various species of *Gaylussacia* and *Vaccinium*.



vnto ours in England, but that they were lesse, which are also good meat.

*Of a kinde of fruit or berry in forme of Acornes.*

THere is a kinde of berry or acorne, of which there are fve forts that grow on feuerall kindes of trees: the one is called Sagatemener, the second Ofamener, the third Pumuckoner. These kinde of acornes they vse to drie vpon hurdles made of reeds, with fire vnderneath, almost after the maner as we dry Malt in England. When they are to be vsed, they first water them vntill they be soft, and then being fod, they make a good victuall, either to eat so simply, or els being also punned to make loaues or lumps of bread. These be also the three kinds, of which I sayd before the inhabitants vsed to make sweet oile.

Another fort is called Sapummener, which being boiled or parched, doth eat and taste like vnto Chesnuts. They sometime also make bread of this fort.

The fift fort is called Mangummenauk, and is the acorne of their kinde of Oake, the which being dried after the maner of the first forts, and afterward watered, they boile them, and their seruants or sometime the chiefe themselues, either for variety or for want of bread, do eat them with their fish or flesh.

*Of Beasts.*

DEere <sup>163</sup> in some places there are great store: neere vnto the Sea coast they are of the ordinary bignesse of ours in  
England,

<sup>163</sup> Deere, *Cervus Virginianus*, noticed in note 141.

England, and some lesse: but further vp into the countrey, where there is better food, they are greater: they differ from ours onely in this, their tailes are longer, and the snags of their hornes looke backward.

Conies.<sup>164</sup> Those that we haue seene, and all that we can heare of are of a gray colour like vnto Hares: in some places there are such plenty that all the people of some townes make them mantles of the furre or flue of the skinnes of those which they vsually take.

Saquenuckot and Maquowoc, two kinds of small beasts greater than Conies, which are very good meat. We neuer tooke any of them our selues, but sometime eat of such as the inhabitants had taken and brought vnto vs.

Squirrels,<sup>165</sup> which are of a grey colour, we haue taken and eaten.

Bearcs,<sup>166</sup> which are of blacke colour. The beares of this countrey are good meat. The inhabitants in time of Winter do vse to take & eat many: so also sometime did we. They are taken commonly in this sort: In some Islands or places where they are, being hunted for assoone as they haue spiall of a man, they presently run away, and then being chased, they clime and get vp the next tree they can: from whence with arrowes they are shot downe starke dead, or with those wounds that they may after easily be killed. We sometime shot them downe with our calieuers.

I haue the names of eight and twenty seuerall sorts of beasts, which I haue heard of to be here and there disperfed  
in

<sup>164</sup> Conies, *Lepus Cuniculus*.

<sup>165</sup> Squirrels, *Sciurus Carolinensis*.

<sup>166</sup> Bears, *Ursus Americannus*. The

flesh of the bear seems to have been prized by the Indians as well as that of the deer.

in the countrey, especially in the maine: of which there are only twelue kinds that we haue yet discovered; and of those that be good meat we know only them before mentioned. The inhabitants sometime kill the Lion<sup>167</sup> and eat him: and we sometime as they came to our hands of their Woolues<sup>168</sup> or Wooluifh dogs, which I haue not set downe for good meat, least that some would vnderstand my iudgement therein to be more simple then needeth, although I could alleage the difference in taste of those kinds from ours, which by some of our company haue bene experimented in both.

Tvrkie cocks and Tvrkie hennes,<sup>169</sup> Stockdoves,<sup>170</sup> Partridges,<sup>171</sup> Cranes,<sup>172</sup> Hennes<sup>173</sup> and in Winter great store of Swannes and Geefe.<sup>174</sup> Of all forts of fowle I haue the names

<sup>167</sup> The animal here called a lion was probably the panther or wild-cat, *Felix pardus*.

<sup>168</sup> Wolves, *Canis occidentalis*.

<sup>169</sup> The turkey, *Meleagris gallopavo*, is a native American, one of the true aborigines of the country. It is among the noblest of fowls, even in its domesticated state, but still larger and more interesting when roaming free in its native forests. It was found wild in the settlement of this country, all the way from the West India Islands northward to Canada, and as far west as the Rocky Mountains, but was not found on the Pacific slope beyond.

Strachey says: "Turkeys there be great store, wild in the woods like pheasants in England, forty in a company as big our tame here, and yt is excellent fowle, and so passing good meat as I maie well saie, yt it is the best of any kind of flesh which I have ever yet eaten there." *Travaile in Virginia*, Hakluyt Society, 1849, p. 125.

Josselyn speaks thus: "The Turkie who is blacker than ours; I have heard

several credible persons affirm they have seen *Turkie Cocks* that have weighed forty, yea sixty pound: but out of my personal experimental knowledge, I can assure you I have eaten my share of a Turkie-Cock, that when he was pull'd and garbidge'd weighed thirty [9] pound." *New England Rarities*, Bolton, 1865, p. 41. *Vide* Coues's *Key*, Boston, 1872, pp. 231, 232.

<sup>170</sup> Stock-doves, *Columba ~~Ænas~~*.

<sup>171</sup> Partridges, *Perdix cinerea*.

<sup>172</sup> Cranes, *Grus Americana*.

<sup>173</sup> Hennes, *Ardea virescens*.

<sup>174</sup> Geefe, *Anser Canadensis*, and Swannes, *Cygnus Americanus*. The great store of these birds in the winter season was due to their migratory habits. They came from the cold north to spend the winter in a more genial climate. The region in which they alight, to pass the winter, is very large. They may go south as far as the Gulf of Mexico, or they may stop far short of this. They are after a milder climate than that which prevails about the northern lakes, and they

names in the country language of fourscore and fixe of which number, besides those that be named, we haue taken, eaten, & haue the pictures as they were drawen, with the names of the inhabitants, of seuerall strange sorts of water fowle eight, and seuentene kinds more of land fowle, although we haue seene and eaten of many more, which for want of leasure there for the purpose could not be pictured: and after we are better furnished and stored vpon further discouery with their strange beasts, fish, trees, plants, and herbs, they shalbe also published.

There are also Parrots, Faulcons, and Marlin hauks, which although with vs they be not vsed for meat, yet for other causes I thought good to mention.

### Of Fish.

FOR foure moneths of the yeere, February, March, April, and May, there are plenty of Sturgeons.<sup>178</sup> And also in the same

they find such a climate even in North and South Carolina. We are not as familiar with swans as with geese, in respect to their migratory habits. But their home during the breeding season is in northern latitudes, so that Great Britain used to be one of their winter resorts, whither they came from upper Norway and Sweden and from the northern islands. The American swan breeds in the northern parts of North America, and goes south in the winter as far as North Carolina. A smaller variety breeds as far north as the Arctic circle, and in the winter journeys south to Texas and adjoining regions.

Dr. John Brickell, of North Carolina, speaking of swans, says: "They come

here in the *Winter* and remain with us till *February*, in such great Flocks that I never saw more of any water-fowl in all my Travels than of them, for at that season they are in such vast Numbers on each side of the fresh Water Rivers and Creeks, that at a distance, it seems to be Land covered with Snow. About Christmas they are frequently so fat that some of them are scarce able to fly. In *Spring* they go to the *Northern Lakes* to breed." *Natural History of North Carolina*, Dublin, 1737, p. 202.

<sup>178</sup> The sturgeon, *Accipenser Sturio*, was well known to the ancients, and had its place in Greek and Roman feasts. The reason of the plentiful supply of sturgeon

same moneths of Herrings,<sup>176</sup> some of the ordinary bignesse of ours in England, but the most part farre greater, of eightene, twenty inches, and some two foot in length and better: both these kinds of fish in those moneths are most plentiful, and in best season, which we found to be most delicate and pleasant meat.

There are also Trouts,<sup>177</sup> Porpoises,<sup>178</sup> Rayes,<sup>179</sup> Oldwives,<sup>180</sup> Mulletts,<sup>181</sup> Plaice<sup>182</sup> and very many other sorts of excellent good fish which we haue taken and eaten whose names I know not but in the countrey language: we haue the pictures of twelue sorts more, as they were drawn in the countrey, with their names.

The inhabitants vse to take them two maner of wayes; the one is by a kinde of weare made of reeds, which in that country are very strong: the other way, which is more strange,

surgeon on the American coast in the four months named was that in the latter part of winter it enters the mouths of the rivers for the spawning season, and so makes itself accessible to the fisherman.

Strachey has the following: "Sturgeon great store commonlie in Maie if the year be forward. I have been at the taking of some before Algernoone fort, and in Southampton river, in the midit of March." *Travaile into Virginia*, Hakluyt Society, 1849, p. 126.

<sup>176</sup> For purposes of trade and commerce, the herring, *Clupea harengus*, is one of the most important fish that roams the seas. It has been said that the city of Amsterdam was built on herring bones. But the herring fisheries of Scotland are still more famous, and in many parts of the world they constitute a most important industry. Though

such immense numbers of this fish are every year taken, the increase is enormous and perpetual. The roe of a single female is said to contain more than 60,000 eggs. The word itself, according to Webster's dictionary, is derived from old Saxon and Gothic roots signifying an army, a multitude; and it is added: "Herrings move in vast shoals, coming from high northern latitudes in the spring, to the shores of Europe and America, where they are taken and salted in great quantities." Strachey testifies: "In March and April are great shoells of herrings."

<sup>177</sup> Trouts, *Salmo fontinalis*.

<sup>178</sup> Porpoises, *Phocena communis*.

<sup>179</sup> Rayes-Roach, *Raja radiata*.

<sup>180</sup> Oldwives, *Clupea ferrata*.

<sup>181</sup> Mullet, *Mullus barbatus*.

<sup>182</sup> Plaice, *Plateja communis*.

strange, is with poles made sharpe at one end, by shooting them into the fish after the maner as Irish men cast darts, either as they are rowing in their boats or els as they are wading in the shallowes for the purpose.

There are also in many places plenty of these kinds which follow :

Sea-crabs,<sup>183</sup> such as we haue in England.

Oysters,<sup>184</sup> some very great, and some small, some round, and some of a long shape : they are found both in salt water and brackish, and those that we had out of salt water are farre better then the other, as in our countrey.

Also Muscles,<sup>185</sup> Scalops, Periwinkles<sup>186</sup> and Creuises.

Seekanauk,<sup>187</sup> a kinde of crusty shel-fish, which is good meat,

<sup>183</sup> Crabs, probably *Cancer pagurus*. Strachey says : " There be two sorts of sea-crabbs and the one our people call a king-crabb, and they are taken in shoall waters from off the Shoare, a dozen at a time hanging one upon another's taile : they are of a foote in length and halfe a foote in bredth, having manie leggs and a long tayle ; the Indians seldom eate of this kind." *Travaille into Virginia*, Hakluyt Society, 1849, p. 127.

<sup>184</sup> Oysters, *Ostrea edulis*. " Oysters there be in whole bancks and bedds and those of the best : I have seene some thirteen inches long. The salvages used to boyle Oysters and mussells together and with the broath they make a good spoone meat, thickned with the flower of their wheat : and yt is a great thrift and husbandry with them to hang the oysters upon strings (being shauld and dried) in the smoake, thereby to preserve them all the yeare." *Travaille into Virginia*, Hakluyt Society, 1849, p. 127.

<sup>185</sup> Muscles, *Mytilus edulis*.

<sup>186</sup> Periwinkles, *Littorina littoria*.

<sup>187</sup> The fish here called Seekanauk is doubtles the same which the northern Indians called Siguanoc. *Vide Champlain's Voyages*, Prince Society ed., 1880, Vol. I. p. 58. In the two modes of spelling, the sounds are almost precisely the same. It is the Horse-foot Crab, *Limulus polyphemus*.

Strachey is much more full in his enumeration of the names of different kinds of fish. He says : —

" Shaddes, great store, of a yard long, and for sweetnes and fatnes a reasonable good fish, he is only full of small bones, like our barbells in England.

" Grampus, porpois, seales, flingraies, bretts, mulletts, white salmons, troute, soles, playse, cornfish, rockfish, eeles, lampreys, cat-fish, perch of three sorts, shrimps, crefishes, cockles, mussells, and more such like needles[s] to name, all good fish." *Travaille into Virginia*, Hakluyt Society, 1849, p. 127.

meat, about a foot in bredth, hauing a crufty taile, many legges like a crab, and her eyes in her backe. They are found in shallowes of waters, and sometime on the shore.

There are many Tortoises<sup>188</sup> both of land and sea kinde, their backs and bellies are shelled very thicke; their head, feet, and taile, which are in appearance, seeme ougly, as though they were members of a serpent or venomous beasts: but notwithstanding they are very good meat, as also their egges. Some haue bene found of a yard in bredth and better.

And thus haue I made relation of all forts of victuall that we fed vpon for the time we were in Virginia, as also the inhabitants themselues, as farre forth as I know and can remember, or that are specially woorthy to be remembred.<sup>189</sup>

*The third and last part of such other things as are behouefull for those which shall plant and inhabite to know of, with a description of the nature and maners of the people of the Country.*

*Of commodities for building and other necessary uses.*

THose other things which I am more to make rehearal of, are such as concerne building, & other mechanicall necessary vses, as diuers forts of trees for house and ship-timber, and  
other

<sup>188</sup> Tortoise, *Chelonia imbricata*.

<sup>189</sup> In the enumeration of the various articles of vegetable and animal food found in America, it is worthy of notice that "the inhabitants themselves," the natives of the country,

knew from necessity the uses of all these things before the Europeans arrived. The new comers often learned improved methods of cooking these meats, and fish and vegetables, from the aboriginal inhabitants.

other vses else: Also lime, stone, and bricke, least that being not mentioned some might haue bene doubted of, or by some that are malicious the contrary reported.

Oakes<sup>190</sup> there are as faire, straight, tall, and as good timber as any can be, and also great store, and in some places very great.

Walnut trees,<sup>191</sup> as I haue said before very many, some haue bene seene excellent faire timber of foure and fise fadome, and aboue fourescore foote streight without bough.

Firre trees fit for masts of ships, some very tall and great.

Rakiock,<sup>192</sup> a kinde of trees so called that are sweete wood,  
of

<sup>190</sup> The more prevalent oaks of the region were: white oak, *Quercus alba*; live oak, *Quercus virens*; water oak, *Quercus aquatica*; red oak, *Quercus rubra*; black oak, *Quercus nigra*; southern overcup oak, *Quercus lyrata*.

The oaks which meet the eye of the first comers to a new and wild land would very naturally be "faire, straight, tall," as growing in forests where there would be more room for an upward stretch than for side expansion. But the most majestic oaks of a later period are those that have been left to grow singly in open fields, until their giant limbs spread widely upon every side. These are the trees which delight the eye of the ship-builder who is looking after the massive ship-knees wherewith to build his ships.

<sup>191</sup> The walnut trees most familiar to Hariot in North Carolina were the black walnut, *Juglans nigra*; the shell-bark, *Carya alba*; the western shell-bark, *Carya fulcata*; and the white-heart, *Carya tomentosa*.

Strachey says: "Of Walnutt there be three kinds, the black walnutt which is returned home yearly by all shipping from thence and yields good profit for

yt is well bought up to make waynscott tables, cubbardes, chaires and stools, of a delicate grayne and coulour like ebonie and not subject to the worme: the fruit of this is little, yt is thinne shelled and the kernell is bitter. Another kynd there is which beares a great fruit, with a hard shell, and the meat very sweet, and of these the Indians make oyle to droppe their joynts and smeere their bodies with which do make them supple and nymble. The third sort is, as this last exceeding hard shelled and hath a passing sweet kernell. this last kind the Indians beat into pieces with stones, and putting them shells and all, into morters, mingling water with them, with long wooden pestells pound them so long together until they make a kind of mylke or oylie liquor which they call powcolihora." *Travaile into Virginia*, Hakluyt ed., 1849, p. 129.

<sup>192</sup> Perhaps the *Cupressus thyoides*, white cedar; but Dr. Hawks thinks that the tree *Rakiock*, of which the Indians built their large canoes, was the tulip-tree, *Liriodendron tulipifera*. This tree had a stem sometimes from one hundred to one hundred and forty feet high and three



of which the inhabitants that were neere vnto vs doe commonly make their boates or Canoas of the forme of trowes, onely with the helpe of fire, hatchets of stones, and shels: we haue knowen some so great being made in that sort of one tree, that they haue caried well 20. men at once, besides much baggage: the timber being great, tall, streight, soft, light, and yet tough ynough I thinke (besides other vses) to be fit also for masts of ships.

Cedar,<sup>193</sup> a sweete wood, good for feelings, chests, boxes, bedsteads,

three feet thick. The wood of this tree was easily cut and shaped, and so was more inviting to the Indian mechanics, with their few and feeble implements.

From *Champlain's Voyages* we learn that dug-out canoes were not found by him north of Boston harbor. He says: "After a stay of some two hours for the sake of observing these people, whose canoes are made of birch bark, like those of the Canadians, Souriquois, and Etechemins, we weighed anchor and set saile with a promise of fair weather. Continuing our course to the West-south-west we saw numerous islands on one side and the other."

The stopping-place last described was near the eastern end of Cape Anne, and thence their course was to Boston harbor. The narrative proceeds:—

"The canoes of those who live there are made of a single piece, and are very liable to turn over if one is not skilful in managing them. We had not before seen any of this sort. They are made in the following manner. After cutting down, at a cost of much labor and time the largest and tallest tree they can find, by means of stone hatchets (for they have no others except some few which they received from the savages on the coasts of La Cadie, who obtained them in exchange for furs) they remove the

bark, and round off the tree except on one side, where they apply fire gradually along its entire length, and sometimes they put red hot pebble stones on top. When the fire is too fierce they extinguish it with a little water, not entirely, but so that the edge of the boat may not be burnt. It being hollowed out as much as they wish, they scrape it all over with stones, which they use instead of knives. These stones resemble our musket flints." *Champlain's Voyages*, Boston, Prince Society ed., 1878, Vol. II. p. 73.

<sup>193</sup> Cedar, *Juniperus Virginiana*, and cypress, *Taxodium distichum*. In this paragraph we have a bit of evidence showing the conscientious carefulness with which Hariot made his statements. He could bear his testimony about the cedar-tree out of his personal knowledge, but for the cypress he was dependent upon the word of "some of our company which have wandered in places where I have not bene." Strachey says, "There is a kynd of wood which we call cypress, because both the wood the fruit, and leafe, did most resemble yt; and of these trees there are some neere three fathome about at the root very streight, and fifty, sixty, or eighty foote without a branch." He also adds a word on the same

bedsteads, lutes, virginals, and many things els, as I haue also said before. Some of our company which haue wandered in some places where I haue not bene, haue made certaine affirmation. Cyprus, which for such and other excellent vses is also a wood of price and no small estimation.

Maple<sup>194</sup> and also Witch-hazle<sup>196</sup> whereof the inhabitants vse to make their bowes.

Holly,<sup>195</sup> a necessary thing for the making of bird-lime.

Willowes<sup>197</sup> good for the making of weeres and weeles to take fish after the English maner, although the inhabitants vse onely reedes which because they are so strong as also flexible doe serue for that turne very well and sufficiently.

Beech

same page about the cedars: "The cedars for favour and cullor maie compare with those of Lybanon, the climate of the one and the other differing little." *Travels into Virginia*, Hakluyt Society, 1849, p. 129.

<sup>194</sup> Red or swamp maple, *Acer rubrum*, and perhaps rock or sugar maple, *Acer saccharinum*. The species and varieties of the maple are very numerous throughout North America. In almost any part of New England, if one will notice, the maple will present itself with differences of leaf and stock beyond almost any other tree we have, and the Virginia varieties were not probably less.

<sup>196</sup> The witch-hazel, *Hamamelis Virginica*, is not a European tree or shrub. It never grows into large proportions as a tree, though sometimes in favorable localities it may reach the height of twenty feet or more. It is known rather as a shrub from six to ten feet in height. This was the wood, as Hariot tells us, "whereof the inhabitants use to make their bows." "The inhabitants," a more respectful way of speaking of the

Indians than the early writers often employed. In our own time, the witch-hazel, it is claimed, gives the chief virtue to "Pond's Extract," a medicine widely disseminated.

<sup>195</sup> *Ilex opaca*. Hariot gives the chief use of holly to be for the making of bird-lime. It is true that this substance is procured from the juice of the holly, extracted by boiling. It is a sticky substance, with which the branches and twigs are besmeared for the catching of birds. But with people generally the holly is far more associated with Christmas festivities, and it is conjectured that the name itself of the plant is a change from the word *holy-plant*, first given because of its use in the decoration of churches at the Christmas season.

<sup>197</sup> The *Salicaceæ*, or Willow family, are of great number and variety. The species here spoken of is probably *Salix nigra*. The "reedes" which the natives used for "weares and weeles," instead of the willows, were *Arundinaria macrocarpa*.

Beech<sup>198</sup> and Ashe<sup>199</sup> good for cask hoopcs, and if need require plowe works as also for many things els.

Elmc.<sup>200</sup> Sassafras trees.<sup>201</sup>

Afcopa,<sup>202</sup> a kind of tree very like vnto Lawrell, the barke is hot in taste and spicie, it is very like to that tree which Monardes<sup>203</sup> describeth to be Cassia Lignea of the West Indies.

There are many other strange trees, whose names I know not but in the Virginian language, of which I am not now able, neither is it convenient for the present to trouble you with particular relature, seeing that for timber and other necessary vses, I haue named sufficient. And of many of the rest, but that they may be applied to good vse, I know no cause to doubt.

Now

<sup>198</sup> Beech, *Fagus ferruginea*.

<sup>199</sup> Ashe, *Fraxinus platycarpa*.

<sup>200</sup> Elmc, *Ulmus Americana*. Strachey says: "There is also Elme and ash of which are made sopeashes. Yf the trees be very great, the ashes wilbe very good, and melt to hard lumps being carefully burned; but if they be small, and suffered to partake too much of the smoak, they wilbe but powder, nothing so good as the other, besyde they wilbe very fowle and black." *Travaile into Virginia*, Hakluyt Society, 1849, p. 128.

<sup>201</sup> *Vide* note 134. "Of Saxafras there is plenty enough, the rootes whereof, not monie yeares since were sold for twenty shillings per lb. and better, and if order maie yet be taken that overmuch quantety be not returned, and that which shalbe brought be kept in one hand, all Europe maie be served thereof at good rates. The cedars and saxafras yeild a kind gomme in a small

proportion of themselves; there have bene conclusions tryed to extract yt out of the wood, but nature affourded greater quantity then art could produce." *Travaile into Virginia*, Hakluyt Society, 1849, pp. 129, 130.

<sup>202</sup> The tree with the Indian name *Afcopo* from the description is probably *Persea carolinensis*.

<sup>203</sup> *Vide* note 135. "Monardes, Monardi or Monardus, Nicholas, a learned Spanish Physician, was born at Seville about the beginning of the 16th Century. . . . He wrote in Latin under the title: *Simplicium Medicamentorum ex Novo Orbe Delatorum, quorum in Medicina usus est, Historia. Ant. 1574.*" Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*.

As Hariot wrote his narrative in 1588, he made use of Monardes's book only a few years after it was first published, showing that he was careful to avail himself of such helps to information as then existed.

Now for stone, bricke and lime, thus it is. Neere vnto the Sea coast where wee dwelt, there are no kinde of stones to be found (except a few small pebbles about foure miles off) but such as haue bene brought from further out of the maine. In some of our voyages we haue seene diuers hard raggie stones, great pebbles, and a kinde of gray stone like vnto marble of which the inhabitants make their hatchets to cleaue wood. Vpon inquirie wee heard that a little further vp into the Countrey were of all forts very many, although of quarries they are ignorant, neither haue they vse of any store whereupon they should haue occasion to seeke any. For if euery householde haue one or two to cracke nuts, grinde shels, whet copper, and sometimes other stones for hatchets, they haue ynough: neither vse they any digging, but onely for graues about three foote deepe: and therefore no marueile that they know neither quarries, nor lime-stones, which both may be in places neerer then they wot of.

In the meantime vntil there be discouery of sufficient store in some place or other conueient, the want of you which are & shalbe the planters therein may be as well supplied by bricke: for the making whereof in diuers places of the Countrey there is clay both excellent good and plentie, and also by lime made of oyster shels, and of others burnt, after the maner as they vse in the Isles of Tenet and Shepy, and also in diuers other places of England: Which kinde of lime is well knownen to be as good as any other. And of oyster shels there is plentie ynough: for besides diuers other particular places where are abundance, there is one shallow Sound along the coast, where for the space of many miles together in length, and two or three miles in breadth, the  
ground

ground is nothing els, being but halfe a foote or a foote vnder water for the most part.

Thus much can I say furthermore of stones, that about 120. miles from our fort neere the water in the side of a hill, was found by a Gentleman of our company, a great veine of hard ragge stones which I thought good to remember vnto you.<sup>204</sup>

*Of the nature and maners of the people.*

IT resteth I speake a word or two of the naturall inhabitants, their natures and maners leauing large discourse thereof vntil time more conuenient hereafter: nowe onely so farre foorth, as that you may know, how that they in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared, but that they shal haue cause both to feare and loue vs, that shal inhabite with them.

They are a people clothed with loose mantles made of deere skinnnes, and aprons of the same round about their middles, all els naked, of such a difference of statures onely as wee in England, hauing no edge tooles, or weapons of yron or Steele to offend vs withall, neither knowe they how to make any: those weapons that they haue, are onely bowes made of Witch-hazle, and arrowes of reedes, flat edged, truncheons also of wood about a yard long, neither haue they

<sup>204</sup> "It is pleasant to remark how late experience has verified all that is here said by this truthful and accurate observer. Stone does not exist where he was, but has been found in abundance in the interior, just such as he here describes it to be. There is also 'clay both excellent good and plenty,' from which

bricks have long been made; and until within a comparatively recent period, all the lime used in the eastern part of the State was obtained by burning oyster-shells, of which there are large deposits on the coast side of the State." *History of North Carolina*, by Francis L. Hawks, 1857, Vol. I. p. 167.

they any thing to defend themselves but targets made of barks, and some armours made of sticks wickered together with thread.

Their townes are but small, and neere the Sea coast but fewe, some containing but tenne or twelue houses: some 20. the greatest that we haue seene hath bene but of 30. houses: if they bee walled, it is onely done with barks of trees made fast to stakes, or els with poles onely fixed vpright, and close one by another.

Their houses are made of small poles, made fast at the tops in round forme after the maner as is vsed in many arbories in our gardens of England, in most townes couered with barks, and in some with artificiall mats made of long rushes, from the tops of the houses downe to the ground. The length of them is commonly double to the breadth, in some places they are but 12. and 16. yards long, and in other some we haue seene of foure and twentie.

In some places of the Countrey, one onely towne belongeth to the gouernment of a Wiroans or chiefe Lord, in other some two or three, in some sixe, eight, and more: the greatest Wiroans that yet wee had dealing with, had but eighteen townes in his gouernment, and able to make not aboue seuen or eight hundreth fighting men at the most. The language of euery gouernment is different from any other, and the further they are distant, the greater is the difference.<sup>206</sup>

Their

<sup>206</sup> Dr. Hawks inclines to the idea that what are here called different languages were only different dialects of one, or at the most two, "mother languages." If there were two, he thinks they were the Algonquin and the Iro-

quois. But different dialects of the same language abounded within the territory traversed by those early English explorers. He mentions a fact with which we are already familiar. "When Manteo, who was a native of Croatan island

Their maner of warres amongst themselves is either by sudden surprising one another most commonly about the dawning of the day, or moone-light, or els by ambushes, or some subtil deuises. Set battles are very rare, except it fall out where there are many trees, where either part may haue some hope of defense, after the deliuey of euery arrow, in leaping behind some or other.

If there fall out any warres betweene vs and them, what their fight is likely to bee, wee hauing aduantages against them so many maner of wayes, as by our discipline, our strange weapōs and deuises else, especially Ordinance great and small, it may easily bee imagined: by the experience wee haue had in some places, the turning vp of their heeles against vs in running away was their best defence.<sup>206</sup>

In respect of vs they are a people poore, and for want of skill and iudgement, in the knowledge and vse of our things, doe esteeme our trifles before things of greater value: Notwithstanding in their proper maner (considering the want of such meanes as we haue,) they seeme very ingenious. For although they haue no such tooles, nor any such crafts, Sciences and Artes as wee, yet in those things they doe, they shew excellencie of wit. And by how much they vpon due consideration shall finde our maner of knowledges and crafts to exceede theirs

island on the sea-shore near Ocracoke, accompanied Lane up the Roanoak, and was near the borders of Virginia, the present Virginia, he understood the speech of the tribes in that region so well, that he knew the meaning of their threats and warned the English that they were about to discharge a volley of arrows upon them."

<sup>206</sup> The instincts of civilized men

might lead them, in war, to act very much like these savages. But long training and discipline, joined with the pride which comes from culture, prepare them at last to brave the greatest dangers without much apparent fear. The savage is more like a child in the play of his emotions, yet he schooled himself, when made a prisoner, to bear pain and torture with stoical firmness.

theirs in perfection, and speede for doing or execution, by so much the more is it probable that they should desire our friendship and loue, and haue the greater respect for pleasing and obeying vs. Whereby may bee hoped, if meanes of good gouernment be vsed, that they may in short time bee brought to ciuilitie, and the imbracing of true Religion.

Some religion they haue already, which although it be farre from the trueth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier and sooner reformed.

They belieue that there are many gods, which they call Mantoac, but of different sorts & degrees, one onely chiefe and great God, which hath bene from all eternitie<sup>207</sup> Who, as they affirme, when hee purposed to make the world, made first other gods of a principall order, to be as meanes and instruments to be vsed in the creation and gouernment to follow, and after the Sunne, moone, and starres as pettie gods, and the instruments of the other order more principal. First (they say) were made waters, out of which by the gods was made all diuerfitie of creatures that are visibible or inuisibible.

For

<sup>207</sup> Hariot, with his kindly Christian nature and education, has perhaps given a more elevated idea of the religion of the Indians than the case will bear. Doubtless, north and south they did hold to the exiistence of the one Great Spirit and to a life beyond the grave, yet with these beliefs were joined such gross and cruel superstitions and revolting practices that one can find little pleasure in their religion. "Some say, many of those Nations are so brute that they have no Religion, wherein surely they may be deceived, for my part I neuer saw nor heard of any Nation in the world that had not Religion Deare,

Bowes & Arrowes. Those in *New England*, I take it, beleeeve much alike as those in *Virginia*, of many divine Powers, yet of one above all the rest: as the southerly *Virginians* call their chiefe God *Kewassa*, and that we now inhabit, *Okee*, but all their Kings, *Wero-wances*. The *Massachusetts* call their great God *Kichtan* and their Kings *Sachemes*: and that we suppose their Devil, they call *Habamonk*. The *Penobscots*, their God *Tantum*, their Kings *Sagamos*." *John Smith's Pathway to Erect a Plantation*, Boston, 1865, pp. 28, 29.



For mankinde they say a woman was made first, which by the working of one of the gods, conceiued and brought forth children: And in such sort they had their beginning. But how many yeeres or ages haue passed since, they say they can make no relation, hauing no letters nor other such meanes as we to keepe Records of the particularities of times past, but onely tradition from father to sonne.

They thinke that all the gods are of humane shape, and therefore they represent them by images in the formes of men, which they call Kewasowok, one alone is called Kewas: them they place in houses appropriate or temples, which they call Machicomuck, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many times offering vnto them. In some Machicomuck we haue seene but one Kewas, in some two, and in other some three. The common sort thinke them to be also gods.

They beleeeue also the immortalitie of the soule, that after this life as soone as the soule is departed from the body, according to the workes it hath done, it is either caried to heauen the habitacle of gods, there to enioy perpetuall blisse and happinesse, or els to a great pitt or hole, which they thinke to be in the furthest parts of their part of the world toward the Sunne set, there to burne continually: the place they call Popogusso.

For the confirmation of this opinion, they tolde me two stories of two men that had bene lately dead and reuiued againe, the one happened but few yeeres before our coming into the Countrey of a wicked man, which hauing bene dead and buried, the next day the earth of the graue being seene to moue, was taken vp againe, who made declaration  
where

where his soule had bene, that is to say, very neere entring into Popoguffo, had not one of the gods faued him, and gaue him leaue to returne againe, and teach his friends what they should do to auoyd that terrible place of torment. The other happened in the same yeere we were there, but in a towne that was 60. miles from vs, and it was told me for strange newes, that one being dead, buried, and taken vp againe as the first, shewed that although his body had lien dead in the graue, yet his soule was aliue, & had trauailed farre in a long broad way, on both sides whereof grew most delicate and pleasant trees, bearing more rare and excellent fruits, then euer hee had seene before, or was able to expresse, and at length came to most braue and faire houses, neere which he met his father that had bene dead before, who gaue him great charge to goe backe againe, and shew his friendes what good they were to doe to enioy the pleasure of that place, which when he had done he should after come againe.

What subtiltie soeuer be in the Wiroances and priestes, this opinion worketh so much in many of the common and simple sort of people, that it maketh them haue great respect to their Gouvernours, and also great care what they doe, to auoyd torment after death, and to enioy blisse, although notwithstanding there is punishment ordeined for malefactours, as stealers, whoremongers, and other sorts of wicked doers, some punished with death, some with forfeitures, some with beating, according to the greatnesse of the facts.

And this is the summe of their Religion, which I learned by hauing speciall familiaritie with some of their priests. Wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gaue such

credite to their traditions and stories, but through conuersing with vs they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no small admiration of ours, with earnest desire in many, to learne more then wee had meanes for want of perfect vtterance in their language to expresse.

Most things they sawe with vs, as Mathematicall instruments, sea Compasses, the vertue of the load-stone in drawing yron, a perspectiue glasse whereby was shewed many strange sights, burning glasses, wilde firewoorkes, gunnes, hookes, writing and reading, spring-clockes, that seeme to goe of themselves and many other things that wee had were so strange vnto them, and so farre exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reason and meanes how they should be made and done, that they thought they were rather the workes of gods then of men, or at the leastwise they had bene giuen and taught vs of the gods. Which made many of them to haue such opinion of vs, as that if they knew not the trueth of God and Religion already, it was rather to bee had from vs whom God so specially loued, then from a people that were so simple, as they found themselves to be in comparison of vs. Whereupon greater credite was giuen vnto that wee spake of, concerning such matters.

Many times and in euery towne where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible, that therein was set foorth the true and onely God, and his mightie workes, that therein was contained the true doctrine of saluation through Christ, with many particularities of Miracles and chiefe points of Religion, as I was able then to vtter, and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the booke materially and of it selfe was not of  
any

any such vertue, as I thought they did conceiue, but onely the doctrine therein contained: yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to holde it to their breastes and heads, and stroke ouer all their body with it, to shew their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of.<sup>308</sup>

The Wiroans with whom we dwelt called Wingina, and many of his people would bee glad many times to be with vs at our Prayers, and many times call vpon vs both in his owne towne, as also in others whither hee sometimes accompanied vs, to pray and sing Psalmes, hoping thereby to be partaker of the same effects which we by that meanes also expected.

Twise this Wiroans was so grieuouly sicke, that he was like to die, and as he lay languishing, doubting of any helpe by his owne priestes, and thinking hee was in such danger for offending vs and thereby our God, sent for some of vs to pray and bee a meanes to our God that it would please him either that he might liue, or after death dwell with him in blisse, so likewise were the requests of many others in the like case.

On a time also when their corne began to wither by reason of a drought which happened extraordinarily, fearing that it had come to passe by reason that in some thing they had displeased

<sup>308</sup> Anthony Wood, in his account of Hariot in the *Athena Oxonienses*, makes him to be a Deist, rejecting the Old Testament and holding to a Philosophical Theology. In this paragraph he certainly presents himself to us unequivocally as an earnest believer in the Bible in the full Christian sense. Dr. Hawks repels this suggestion of Wood's with

something of indignation. He says: "This statement of Wood's is flatly denied by respectable authority; and Hariot's writings, together with the esteem which he certainly possessed of distinguished and orthodox men do not countenance the idea that he was a Deist." *History of North Carolina*, 1857, Vol. I. p. 149.

pleased vs, many would come to vs and desire vs to pray to our God of England, that he would preferue their Corne, promising that when it was ripe we also should be partakers of the fruit.

There could at no time happen any strange sicknesse, losses, hurts, or any other crosse vnto them, but that they would impute to vs the cause or meanes thereof, for offending or not pleasing vs. One other rare and strange accident, leauing others, will I mention before I end, which moued the whole Countrey that either knew or heard of vs, to haue vs in wonderfull admiration.

There was no towne where wee had any subtile deuise practised against vs, wee leauing it vnpunished or not reuenged (because we sought by all meanes possible to win them by gentlenesse) but that within a few dayes after our departure from euery such Towne, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space, in some Townes about twentie, in some fourtie, and in one fixe score, which in trueth was very many in respect of their numbers. This happened in no place that we could learne, but where we had bin, where they vsed some practise against vs, & after such time. The disease also was so strange, that they neither knewe what it was, nor how to cure it, the like by report of the oldest men in the Countrey neuer happened before, time out of minde. A thing specially obserued by vs, as also by the naturall inhabitants themselues. Infomuch that when some of the inhabitants, which were our friends, and especially the Wiroans Wingina, had obserued such effects in foure or fise Townes to followe their wicked practises, they were perswaded that it was the worke of our God through our meanes, and that

that we by him might kill and slay whom we would without weapons, and not come neere them. And thereupon when it had happened that they had vnderstanding that any of their enemies had abused vs in our iourneys, hearing that we had wrought no reuenge with our weapons, and fearing vpon some cause the matter should so rest: did come and intreate vs that we would be a meanes to our God that they as others that had dealt ill with vs might in like sort die, alleading how much it would bee for our credite and profite, as also theirs, and hoping furthermore that we would doe so much at their requests in respect of the friendship we professed them.

Whose entreaties although wee shewed that they were vngodly, affirming that our God would not subiect himselfe to any such prayers and requests of men: that indeede all things haue bene and were to be done according to his good pleasure as he had ordeined: and that we to shewe our selues his true seruants ought rather to make petition for the contrary, that they with them might liue together with vs, be made partakers of his trueth, and serue him in righteoufnesse, but notwithstanding in such fort that wee referre that, as all other things, to bee done, according to his diuine will and pleasure, and as by his wisedome he had ordeined to be best.<sup>200</sup>

Yet

<sup>200</sup> This whole passage concerning the deadly sickness which fell upon the natives, and their own thoughts and wishes in view of the fact, is a very singular one. Neither among savage nor civilized races can such self-condemnation and abnegation often be found. Hariot

and his associates gave them good Christian counsel in the premises. This sickness seems to have been as strange as that which had carried off so many of the natives of New England just preceding the time when our fathers came hither.

Yet because the effect fell out so suddenly and shortly after according to their desires, they thought neuerthelesse it came to passe by our meanes, & that we in vsing such speeches vnto them, did but dissemble the matter, and therefore came vnto vs to giue vs thanks in their maner, that although we satisfied them not in promise, yet in deedes and effect we had fulfilled their desires.

This marueilous accident in all the Countrey wrought so strange opinions of vs, that some people could not tell whether to thinke vs gods or men, and the rather because that all the space of their sicknes, there was no man of ours knownen to die, or that was specially sicke: they noted also that we had no women amongst vs, neither that we did care for any of theirs.

Some therefore were of opinion that we were not borne of women, and therefore not mortal, but that we were men of an old generation many yeeres past, then risen againe to immortalitie.

Some would likewise seeme to prophecie that there were more of our generation yet to come to kill theirs and take their places, as some thought the purpose was, by that which was already done. Those that were immediately to come after vs they imagined to be in the aire, yet inuisible and without bodies, and that they by our intreatie and for the loue of vs, did make the people to die in that fort as they did, by shooting inuisible bullets into them.

To confirme this opinion, their Phisitions (to excuse their ignorance in curing the disease) would not be ashamed to say, but earnestly make the simple people beleue, that the strings of blood that they sucked out of the sicke bodies,  
were

were the strings wherewithall the inuisible bullets were tied and cast. Some also thought that wee shot them our selues out of our pieces, from the place where wee dwelt, and killed the people in any Towne that had offended vs, as we listed howe farre distant from vs foeuer it were. And other some said, that it was the speciall worke of God for our sakes, as we ourselues haue cause in some sort to thinke no lesse, whatsoeuer some doe, or may imagine to the contrary specially some Astrologers, knowing of the Eclipse of the Sunne which we saw the same yeere before in our voyage thitheward, which vnto them appeared very terrible. And also of a Comet which began to appeare but a fewe dayes before the beginning of the saide sicknesse. But to exclude them from being the speciall causes of so speciall an accident there are further reasons then I thinke fit at this present to be alleadged. These their opinions I haue set downe the more at large, that it may appeare vnto you that there is good hope they may be brought through discrete dealing and gouernment to the imbracing of the trueth, and consequently to honour, obey, feare and loue vs.

And although some of our company towards the end of the yeere, shewed themselues too fierce in slaying some of the people in some Townes, vpon causes that on our part might easily ynough haue bene borne withall: yet notwithstanding, because it was on their part iustly deserued, the alteration of their opinions generally and for the most part concerning vs is the lesse to be doubted. And whatsoeuer els they may be, by carefulnesse of our selues neede nothing at all to be feared.

The best neuerthelesse in this, as in all actions besides, is  
to



to be endeououred and hoped, and of the worst that may happen notice to be taken with consideration, and as much as may be eschewed.

*The Conclusion.*

NOW I haue (as I hope) made relation not of so few and small things, but that the Countrey (of men that are indifferent and well disposed) may bee sufficiently liked: If there were no more known then I haue mentioned, which doubtlesse and in great reason is nothing to that which remaineth to be discovered, neither the soyle, nor commodities. As we haue reason so to gather by the difference we found in our trauailes, for although al which I haue before spoken of, haue bene discovered and experimented not farre from the Sea coast, where was our abode and most of our trauailing: yet sometimes as we made our iourneys, further into the maine and Countrey: we found the soile to be fatter, the trees greater and to grow thinner, the ground more firme and deeper mould, more and larger champions, finer grasse, and as good as euer we saw any in England; in some places rockie and farre more high and hilly ground, more plentie of their fruites, more abundance of beastes, the more inhabited with people, and of greater pollicie and larger dominions, with greater townes and houses.

Why may wee not then looke for in good hope from the inner parts of more and greater plentie, as well of other things, as of those which wee haue already discovered? Vnto the Spaniards happened the like in discovering the maine of the West Indies. The maine also of this Countrey of Virginia,

ginia, extending some wayes so many hundreds of leagues, as otherwise then by the relation of the inhabitants wee haue most certaine knowledge of, where yet no Christian prince hath any possession or dealing, cannot but yeelde many kinds of excellent commodities, which we in our discouery haue not yet seene.

What hope there is els to bee gathered of the nature of the Climate, being answerable to the Iland of Iapan, the land of China, Persia, Iury, the Ilands of Cyprus and Candy, the South parts of Greece, Italy and Spaine, and of many other notable and famous Countreys, because I meane not to be tedious, I leaue to your owne consideration.

Whereby also the excellent temperature of the aire there at all seasons, much warmer then in England, and neuer so vehemently hot, as sometimes is vnder and betweene the Tropikes, or neere them, cannot be knowen vnto you without further relation.

For the holsomnesse thereof I neede to say but thus much: that for all the want of prouision, as first of English victuall, excepting for twentie dayes, we liued only by drinking water, and by the victuall of the Countrey, of which some sorts were very strange vnto vs, and might haue bene thought to haue altered our temperatures in such fort, as to haue brought vs into some grievous and dangerous diseases: Secondly the want of English meanes, for the taking of beastes, fish and foule, which by the helpe onely of the inhabitants and their meanes could not bee so suddenly and easily provided for vs, nor in so great number and quantities, nor of that choise as otherwise might haue bene to our better satisfaction and contentment. Some want also we had of clothes. Furthermore

in al our trauailes, which were most specially and often in the time of Winter, our lodging was in the open aire vpon the ground. And yet I say for all this, there were but foure of our whole company (being one hundred and eight) that died all the yeere, and that but at the latter ende thereof, and vpon none of the aforesaide causes. For all foure, especially three, were feeble, weake, and sickly persons before euer they came thither, and those that knew them, much marvelled that they liued so long being in that case or had aduentured to trauaile.

Seeing therefore the aire there is so temperate and wholesome, the soyle so fertile, and yeelding such commodities, as I haue before mentioned, the voyage also thither to and fro being sufficiently experimented to be perfourmed twise a yeere with ease, and at any season thereof: And the dealing of Sir Walter Raleigh so liberall in large giuing and granting lande there, as is already knowen, with many helpes and furtherances else: (The least that he hath granted hath bene fve hundredth acres to a man onely for the aduenture of his person) I hope there remaines no cause whereby the action should be misliked.

If that those which shall thither trauaile to inhabite and plant bee but reasonably provided for the first yeere, as those are which were transported the last, and being there, doe vse but that diligence and care, that is requisit and as they may with ease: There is no doubt but for the time following, they may haue victuals that are excellent good and plentie ynough, some more English forts of cattell also hereafter, as some haue bene before, and are there yet remayning, may, and shall be (God willing) thither transported.

So

So likewise, our kinde of fruites, rootes, and hearbes, may be there planted and sowed, as some haue bene already, and proue well : And in short time also they may raise so much of those sorts of commodities which I haue spoken of, as shall both enrich themselues, as also others that shall deale with them.

And this is all the fruit of our labours, that I haue thought necessary to aduertise you of at this present: What els concerneth the nature and maners of the inhabitants of Virginia, the number with the particularities of the voyages thither made, and of the actions of such as haue bene by Sir Walter Raleigh therein, and there imployed, many worthy to be remembered, as of the first discoverers of the Country, of our Generall for the time Sir Richard Grinuill, and after his departure of our Gouvernour there Master Ralph Lane, with diuers other directed and imployed vnder their government: Of the Captaines and Masters of the voyages made since for transportation of the Gouvernour and assistants of those already transported, as of many persons, accidents, and things els, I haue ready in a discourse by it selfe in maner of a Chronicle,<sup>210</sup> according to the course of times: which when time shall be thought conueient, shall be also published.

Thus

<sup>210</sup> Dr. Hawks says: "This 'discourse in a manner of a Chronicle' we fear is irrevocably lost. Coming from the pen of such an intelligent and honest eye-witness as Harriot, it would to us of this day be invaluable. Many of Harriot's MSS. went into the possession of the Duke of Northumberland: from him they descended to the Earl of

Egremont and in 1784 were at his seat of Petworth. Is it not worth an effort to ascertain if this be among them?" *History of North Carolina*, 1857, Vol. I. p. 190. When we remember how many literary treasures, which were supposed lost, have come to light after centuries of concealment, it is possible that this Discourse of Harriot's will yet appear.

244 *Raleigh's Colony in America.*

Thus referring my relation to your fauorable constructions, expecting good successe of the action, from him which is to be acknowledged the author and gouernour, not onely of this, but of all things els, I take my leaue of you, this moneth of February, 1587.





# THE FOURTH VOYAGE TO AMERICA

UNDER THE CHARGE AND DIRECTION OF

SIR WALTER RALEGH, KNIGHT.

1587.



N the yeere of our Lord 1587, Sir Walter Raleigh intending to perseuere<sup>211</sup> in the planting of his Countrey of Virginia, prepared a newe Colonie of one hundred and fiftie men to be sent thither, vnder the charge of Iohn White,<sup>212</sup> whom hee appointed Gouvernour, and also appointed vnto him twelue Assistants, vnto whom hee gaue a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Gouvernour and Assistants of the Citie of Raleigh<sup>213</sup> in Virginia.

APRIL.

<sup>211</sup> Hakluyt's heading to this voyage is as follows: "The fourth Voyage made to Virginia with three Ships, in the yere 1587, wherein was transported the second Colonie."

After all the discouragements of the last three years, and with many great questions of national importance pressing upon him at home, it shows Sir Walter Raleigh to excellent advantage that he was determined to follow up his enterprise of colonizing America.

<sup>212</sup> John White, who had charge of the fourth and fifth expeditions to America undertaken by Raleigh, has left little trace of himself outside of these narratives. He is probably the same John White mentioned on page 139, in connection with the second voyage under Sir Richard Grenville.

<sup>213</sup> The city of Raleigh existed thus on paper at a very early date, but it had to wait long before it existed in fact. Not a great many years after the actual settlement

## APRIL.

OVr Fleete being in number three faile, viz. the Admirall a shippe of one hundred and twentie Tunnes, a Flie-boate, and a Pinneffe, departed the sixe and twentieth of April from Portesmouth, and the same day came to an ancker at the Cowes in the Isles of Wight, where wee stayed eight dayes.

## MAY.

THE fift of May, at nine of the clocke at night we came to Plimmouth, where we remained the space of two dayes.

The 8 we weyed anker at Plimmouth, and departed thence for Virginia.

The 16 Simon Ferdinando,<sup>214</sup> Master of our Admiral,<sup>215</sup> lewdly<sup>216</sup> forfooke our Fly-boate, leauing her distressed in the Bay of Portugal.

## IUNE.

settlement of the present Virginia on the James River in 1607, the southern part of it began to be separated from the northern portion, under the general name of Carolina. And so it continued until 1693, when this large colonial territory was divided into North and South Carolina. They were a part of the thirteen colonies which existed at the opening of the Revolution, after which they were organized into States. To the honor of Sir Walter Raleigh, and according to the fitness of things, the "citie of Raleigh" which existed ideally in 1587, at last existed in fact, as the capital of North Carolina.

<sup>214</sup> Dr. Hawks suggests that this Simon Ferdinando, from his name, was very likely a Spaniard, and was bent on

making mischief, and was perhaps playing into Spanish hands. He must have been well known to Raleigh, or at least to the men whom Raleigh employed as his chief managers. He came to America in the first voyage, under Captains Amadas and Barlowe. There is little doubt that he came also under Sir Richard Grenville in the second voyage. He is probably the person spoken of on p. 138 as Fernando, which is sometimes used as an abbreviation for Ferdinando.

<sup>215</sup> The Admirall in this connection means the leading ship of the fleet.

<sup>216</sup> We have here an ancient meaning of the word *lewdly*. It signifies wickedly, rascally. There is a still older use of the word, where it means ignorantly or foolishly.

JUNE.

THE 19 we fell with Dominica, and the same evening we layed betweene it, and Guadalupe: the 21 the Fly-boat also fell with Dominica.

The 22 we came to an anker at an Island called Santa Cruz<sup>217</sup> where all the planters were set on land, staying there till the 25 of the same moneth. At our first landing on this Island, some of our women<sup>218</sup> and men, by eating a small fruit like greene Apples, were fearefully troubled with a sudden burning in their mouthes, and swelling of their tongues so bigge, that some of them could not speake. Also a child by sucking one of those womens breasts, had at that instant his mouth set on such a burning, that it was strange to see how the infant was tormented for the time: but after 24 houres, it ware away of it selfe.

Also the first night of our being on this Island, we tooke five great Torteses,<sup>219</sup> some of them of such bignes, that  
 fixtene

<sup>217</sup> This was probably one of the Virgin Islands, which are the poorest and most unproductive of all the West India groups. Santa Cruz is the largest and most southerly of this group, and is the principal of the Danish possessions in the West Indies.

<sup>218</sup> This was the first time that women had accompanied the planters in the expeditions undertaken by Raleigh to the New World. This fact was in itself plainly indicative of the purpose of these adventurers to stay and make new homes for themselves in America.

<sup>219</sup> The word *tortoise*, in its most common use, is applied to both land and sea tortoises. Sometimes it is used in a

restricted sense to designate specifically land tortoises, while the word *turtle* is used for the sea tortoise. In the present instance the tortoises seem to have belonged to the sea. A species of the tortoise known as *Testudo Indica* grows to a very great size. It is especially abundant upon the Gallapagos Islands, in the Pacific, where it often reaches two hundred pounds in weight. The islands themselves are so named from the Spanish word *galapago*, meaning tortoise. The tortoises found on the island of Santa Cruz did not probably weigh as much as sixteen men could raise at a dead lift, but it was probably a difficult burden to manage.



sixteene of our strongest men were tired with carying of one of them but from the sea side to our cabbins. In this Island we found no watring place, but a standing ponde, the water whereof was so euill, that many of our company fell sicke with drinking thereof: and as many as did but wash their faces with that water, in the morning before the Sunne had drawen away the corruption, their faces did so burne and swell, that their eyes were shut vp, and could not see in fwe or fixe dayes, or longer.

The second day of our abode there, we sent forth some of our men to search the Island for fresh water, three one way, and two another way. The Gouvernour also, with fixe others, went vp to the top of an high hill, to viewe the Island, but could perceiue no signe of any men, or beastes, nor any goodnes, but Parots, and trees of Guiacum. Returning backe to our cabbins another way, he found in the discent of a hill, certaine potshcards of sauage making, made of the earth of that Island: whereupon it was iudged, that this Island was inhabited with Sauages, though Fernando had told vs for certaine the contrary.<sup>220</sup> The same day at night, the rest of our company very late returned to the Gouvernour. The one company affirmed, that they had seene in a valley cleuen Sauages, and diuers houses halfe a mile distant from the steepe, or toppe of the hill where they stayed. The other company had found running out of a high rocke a very fayre spring of water, whereof they brought three bottels to  
the

<sup>220</sup> Whether Simon Ferdinando was guilty here of deliberate falsehood, or simply mistaken in his information, does not clearly appear. His conduct, how-

ever, throughout this whole voyage was so strange and irregular that it is not natural that we should try to apologize for him.

the company: for before that time, wee drank the stinking water of the pond.

The same second day at night Captaine Stafford<sup>221</sup> with the Pinnesse, departed from our fleete, riding at Santa Cruz, to an Island, called Beake, lying neere S. Iohn, being so directed by Ferdinando, who assured him he should there find great plenty of sheepe. The next day at night, our planters left Santa Cruz, and came all aboard, and the next morning after, being the 25 of Iune, we weyed anker, and departed from Santa Cruz.

The seuen and twentieth we came to anker at Cottea, where we found the Pinnesse riding at our comming.

The 28 we weyed anker at Cottea, and presently came to anker at S. Iohns in Musketoe Bay, where we spent three dayes vnprofitable in taking in fresh water, spending in the meane time more beere then the quantitie of the water came vnto.<sup>222</sup>

### JULIE.

THE first day we weyed anker at Musketoos Bay, where were left behind two Irish men of our company, Darbie Glauen and Denice Carrell,<sup>223</sup> bearing along the coast of S. Iohns

<sup>221</sup> This is the Master Edward Stafford who stayed in America over the winter of 1585-86 with the hundred and eight, and was one of Lane's right-hand men, intelligent and enterprising in all matters entrusted to him.

<sup>222</sup> Whether the writer here meant to reckon by *values* or by *quantities* is not clear. If they did not really get water enough in quantity to replace the beer which they drank in the enterprise, it was truly an unpromising industry.

<sup>223</sup> The sentence which records the fact that the two Irishmen, Darbie Glauen and Denice Carrell, were left behind at Musketoos Bay, leaves the reader entirely in the dark as to its reason or motive. Whether they were left by accident or design is not stated. Whether any vessel afterward was sent to take them off we are not informed. From the fact that their names are not found among the company at the end of this narrative who stayed in America, the supposition

Iohns till euening, at which time wee fell with <sup>224</sup> Roffe Bay. At this place Ferdinando had promised wee should take in falte, and had caused vs before, to make and prouide as many fackes for that purpose, as we could. The Gouvernour also, for that hee vnderstood there was a Toun in the bottome of the Bay, not farre from the falt hils, appointed thirty shot, tenne pikes, and ten targets, to man the Pinnesse, and to goe aland for falt. Ferdinando percciuing them in a readines, sent to the Gouvernour, vsing great perswasions with him, not to take in falt there, saying that hee knew not well whether the same were the place or not: also, that if the Pinnesse went into the Bay, she could not without great danger come backe, till the next day at night, and that if in the meane time any storme should rise, the Admirall were in danger to bee cast away. Whilest he was thus perswading, he caused the lead to be cast, and hauing craftily brought the shippe in three fadome and a halfe water, he suddenly began to sweare, and teare God in picces, dissembling great danger, crying to him at the helme, beare vp hard, beare vp hard: so we went off, and were disappointed of our falt, by his meanes.

The next day sayling along the West end of S. Iohn, the Gouvernour determined to go aland in S. Germans Bay, to gather yong plants of Orenge, Pines, Mameas, and Plantanos, to set at Virginia, which we knew might easily be had,  
for

supposition is not unnatural that they were left because the company was glad to be rid of them.

<sup>224</sup> Several times in these Voyages we find this odd and quaint expression, "we fell with," instead of "we fell in with,"

as we should now say. A page or two back we have it twice repeated, "The nineteenth Iune we fell with Dominica," "The 21 the Fly-boat also fell with Dominica." Every age has its own modes of expression.

for that they grow neere the shore, and the places where they grew, well knowne to the Gouvernour, and some of the planters: but our Simon denied it, saying: he would come to an anker at Hispaniola, & there land the Gouvernour, and some other of the Assistants, with the pinnesse, to see if he could speake with his friend Alanfon, of whom he hoped to be furnished both of cattel, and all such things as we would haue taken in at S. Iohn: but he meant nothing lesse, as it plainly did appeare to vs afterwards.<sup>226</sup>

The next day after, being the third of Iuly, we saw Hispaniola,<sup>226</sup> and bare with the coast all that day, looking still when the pinnesse should be prepared to goe for the place where Ferdinando his friend Alanfon was: but that day passed, and we saw no preparation for landing in Hispaniola.

The 4 of Iuly, sayling along the coast of Hispaniola, vntill the next day at noone, and no preparation yet seene for the staying there, we hauing knowledge that we were past the place where Alanfon dwelt, and were come with Isabella: <sup>227</sup> hereupon Ferdinando was asked by the Gouvernour, whether he meant to speake with Alanfon, for the taking in of cattell, and other things, according to his promise, or not: but he answered that he was now past the place, and that Sir Walter Raleigh told him, the French Ambassador certified him, that the

<sup>226</sup> The repeated instances of Ferdinando's falsehood and treachery, recorded in the foregoing paragraphs, must be explained either by his innate depravity and love of mischief, or by his complicity with Raleigh's enemies.

<sup>228</sup> Hispaniola is the Hayti or St. Domingo of modern nomenclature. It is the second in size of the West India

group of islands. Columbus gave it the name of Hispaniola, or Little Spain. But the older name was Hayti, which in modern times has been restored. But it is also largely the European custom to designate the island itself by its chief city, and so it is called St. Domingo.

<sup>227</sup> Isabella was a cape on the northern side of St. Domingo.

the king of Spaine had sent for Alanfon into Spaine : wherefore he thought him dead, and that it was to no purpose to touch there in any place, at this voyage.

The next day we left sight of Hispaniola, and haled off for Virginia, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone.

The sixt of Iuly we came to the Island Caycos,<sup>228</sup> wherein Ferdinando sayd were two salt pondes, assuring vs if they were drie, we might find salt to shift with, vntill the next supply : but it prooued as true as finding of sheepe at Baque.<sup>229</sup> In this Island, whilest Ferdinando solaced himselfe ashore, with one of the company, in part of the Island, others spent the latter part of that day in other parts of the Island, some to seeke the salt ponds, some fowling, some hunting Swans, whereof we caught many. The next day early in the morning we weyed anker, leauing Caycos, with good hope, that the first land that we saw next should be Virginia.<sup>230</sup>

About the 16 of Iuly we fel with the maine of Virginia,<sup>231</sup> which Simon Ferdinando tooke to be the Island of Croatoan, where we came to anker, and rode there two or three dayes : but finding himselfe deceiued, he weyed, and bare along the coast, where in the night, had not Captaine Stafford bene  
more

<sup>228</sup> Caycos, or Caicos, was an island northwest of Cape Isabella, bearing toward the mainland of Florida.

<sup>229</sup> Baque, or Bacque, is a small island a few miles east of Porto Rico.

<sup>230</sup> A ship sailing north from the island of Caicos would be heading almost directly for Roanoke Island, and would soon be out of sight of land, in the broad Atlantic. Sailing northwest it would pass islands and groups of islands for hundreds of miles, almost all the way to the coast of Florida. As the writer

hoped "that the first land that we saw next should be Virginia," it is well-nigh certain that they proposed to launch out into the deep, and no longer cruise about among the islands.

<sup>231</sup> It was the 7th of July when they left Caicos, so that about nine days had been consumed in this open sea voyage across from the West Indies to the shores of North Carolina. We have here another instance of the quaint expression, "we fel with the maine of Virginia."

more carefull, in looking out, then our Simon Ferdinando, we had bene all cast away vp the breach, call the Cape of Feare, for we were come within two cables length vpon it: such was the carelesnes and ignorance of our Master.<sup>222</sup>

The two and twentieth of Iuly wee arriued safe at Hatorask,<sup>223</sup> where our ship and pinnesse ankered: the Gouvernour went aboard the pinnesse, accompanied with fortie of his best men, intending to passe vp to Roanoak soorthwith, hoping there to finde those fisteene Englishmen, which Sir Richard Grinuile had left there the yeere before, with whom hee meant to haue conference, concerning the state of the  
Countrey,

<sup>222</sup> It would seem very unlikely that a man who had been along these shores before, and who had been thought worthy by Raleigh to take command of the chief ship of this present fleet, should have been so mistaken about the main points of the coast of Carolina. Croatoan was about thirty or forty miles north of Cape Fear, while Ferdinando's vessel was that distance or more south of Cape Fear. Captain Stafford was thoroughly acquainted with the coast, having remained here over the winter, and being also a man of quick and careful observation. He it was, it may be remembered, who brought the news in June, 1586, to Lane and his men, of the approach of Sir Francis Drake's ships, giving them relief in the time of their extremity. Captain Stafford was at that time stationed at Croatoan, to keep an outlook for passing or approaching vessels. Lane says: "The ninth of the same moneth, June 1586, he himselfe came unto mee, having that night before and that same day travelled by lande twenty miles: and I muke truly reporte of him from the firste to the laste, he was the gentle-

man that never spared labor, or peril either by lande or water, faire weather or foule to performe any service committed untoe him."

<sup>223</sup> Here they have reached the old anchorage ground, where Captains Amadas and Barlowe stopped in their first voyage. There would seem almost to have been some mischievous spirit which prevented Raleigh's commanders from ever getting practically beyond this Hatorask inlet and Roanoke Island, up to the mouth of James River and Chesapeake Bay. In the later voyages the purpose was to go farther north: but a succession of untoward events seemed to bind them forever to this ill-fated spot. Lane had acquired better knowledge than this, and had communicated it to Sir Walter Raleigh; and his instructions had been given accordingly, as will be seen in the very next paragraph. But here again the utter perversity of Ferdinando, and the fact that they could at first gain no tidings of the fifteen men that had been left the year before by Sir Richard Grenville, served to break up the original plan, and bring the whole expedition to nought.

Countray, and Sauages, meaning after he had so done, to returne againe to the flecte, and passe along the coast, to the Bay of Chesepiok, where we intended to make our seate and forte, according to the charge given vs among other directions in writing, vnder the hande of Sir Walter Raleigh: but assoone as we were put with our pinnesse from the ship, a Gentleman by the meanes of Ferdinando, who was appointed to returne for England, called to the sailors in the pinnesse, charging them not to bring any of the planters backe againe, but to leaue them in the Island, except the Gouvernour, & two or three such as he approoued, saying that the Summer was farre spent, wherefore hee would land all the planters in no other place. Vnto this were all the saylers, both in the pinnesse, and shippe, perswaded by the Master, wherefore it booted not the Gouvernour to contend with them, but passed to Roanoak, and the same night at sunneset went aland on the Island, in the place where our fifteene men were left, but we found none of them, nor any signe that they had bene there, sauing onely wee found the bones of one of those fifteene, which the Sauages had flaine long before.

The three and twentieth of Iuly the Gouvernour with diuers of his company, walked to the North end of the Island, where Master Ralfe Lane had his forte, with sundry necessary and decent dwelling houses, made by his men about it the yeere before, where wee hoped to find some signes, or certaine knowledge of our fifteene men. When we came thither, we found the fort rased downe, but all the houses standing vnhurt, sauing that the neather rooms of them, and also of the forte, were ouergrownen with Melons  
of

of diuērs fortes, and Deere within them, feeding on those Melons: so wee returned to our company, without hope of euer seeing any of the fiftene men liuing.

The same day order was giuen, that euery man should be employed for the repaying of those houses, which wee found standing, and also to make other newe Cottages, for such as should neede.

The 25 our Flyboate and the rest of our planters arriued all safe at Hatoraske, to the great ioy and comfort of the whole company: but the Master of our Admirall Ferdinando grieved greatly at their safe comming: for hee purposely left them in the Bay of Portugal, and stole away from them in the night, hoping that the Master thereof, whose name was Edward Spicer, for that he neuer had bene in Virginia, would hardly finde the place, or els being left in so dangerous a place as that was, by meanes of so many men of warre, as at that time were abroad, they should surely be taken, or slaine: but God disappointed his wicked pretenses.<sup>284</sup>

The eight and twentieth, George Howe, one of our twelue Assistants was slaine by diuers Sauages, which were come ouer to Roanoak,<sup>285</sup> either of purpose to espie our company, and what number we were, or else to hunt deere, whereof were many in the Island. These Sauages being secretly hidden among high reedes, where oftentimes they find the Deere asleep, and so kill them, espied our man wading in the

<sup>284</sup> The perversity of Ferdinando is nowhere more manifest than in the foregoing paragraph.

<sup>285</sup> The passage between Roanoke Isl-

and and the mainland was only a few miles wide, so that it was very easy for the natives to pass back and forth in their canoes.



the water alone, almost naked, without any weapon, save only a small forked stick, catching Crabs therewithall, and also being strayed two miles from his company, and shot at him in the water, where they gave him sixteen wounds with their arrows: and after they had slain him with their wooden swords,<sup>236</sup> they beat his head in pieces, and fled over the water to the maine.

On the thirtieth of Iuly Master Stafford and twenty of our men passed by water to the Island of Croatoan,<sup>237</sup> with Manteco,<sup>238</sup> who had his mother, and many of his kindred dwelling in that Island, of whom we hoped to understand some newes of our fifteene men, but especially to learne the disposition of the people of the countrey towards vs, and to renew our old friendship with them. At our first landing they seemed as though they would fight with vs: but perceiuing vs begin to march with our shot towards them, they turned their backs, and fled. Then Manteco their countrey man called to them in their owne language, whom, as soone as they heard, they returned, and threw away their bowes and arrows, and some of them came vnto vs, embracing and entertaining vs friendly, desiring vs not to gather or spill any of their corne, for that they had but little. We answered them, that neither their

<sup>236</sup> What are here called wooden swords might more properly be called clubs, of which specimens may be seen in many collections of savage curiosities.

<sup>237</sup> From Roanoke Island to the island of Croatoan was a distance of sixty miles or more.

<sup>238</sup> Manteco had been twice in England. He went back with Captains Amadas and Barlowe in 1584 in com-

pany with another native, Wanchese. He returned to his native country with Sir Richard Grenville in 1585. He was taken back to England in Sir Francis Drake's ships in 1586. He returned again to America in John White's company in 1587, and had with him another native, Towaye, who probably went with him to England the year before. His name does not elsewhere appear.

their corne, nor any other thing of theirs, should be diminished by any of vs, and that our coming was onely to renew the old loue, that was betweene vs and them at the first, and to liue with them as brethren and friends: which answere seemed to please them well, wherefore they requested vs to walke vp to their Towne, who there feasted vs after their maner, and desired vs earnestly, that there might bee some token or badge giuen them of vs, whereby we might know them to be our friends, when we met them any where out of the Towne, or Island. They told vs further, that for want of some such badge, diuers of them were hurt the yeere before, being found out of the Island by Master Lane his company, whereof they shewed vs one, which at that very instant lay lame, and had ben of that hurt euer since: but they sayd, they knew our men mistooke them, and hurt them instead of Winginos men, wherefore they held vs excused.

## AUGUST.

THE next day we had conference further with them, concerning the people of Secotan, Aquascogoc, & Pomeoik, willing them of Croatoan to certifie the people of those townes, that if they would accept our friendship, we would willingly receiue them againe, and that all vnfriendly dealings past on both parts, should be vtterly forgiuen and forgotten. To this the chiefe men of Croatoan answered, that they would gladly doe the best they could, and within seuen dayes, bring the Wiroances, and chiefe Gouvernours of those townes with them, to our Gouvernour at Roanoak, or their answere. We also vnderstood of the men of Croatoan, that our man Master

Howe was slaine by the remnant of Winginos men dwelling then at Dafamonguepeuk, with whom Wanchefe kept companie:<sup>289</sup> and also we vnderstood by them of Croatoan, how that the 15 English men left at Roanoak the yeere before, by Sir Richard Grinuile, were suddenly fet vpon, by 30 of the men of Secota, Aquascogoc, and Dafamonguepeuk, in manner following: They conueyed themselues secretly behind the trees, neere the houses where our men carelesly liued: and hauing perceiued that of those fisteene, they could see but eleuen onely, two of those Sauages appeared to the 11 Englishmen, calling to them by friendly signes, that but two of their chiefeft men should come vnarmed to speake with those two Sauages, who seemed also to bee vnarmed.

Wherefore two of the chiefeft of our Englishmen went gladly to them: but whilest one of those Sauages traiterously imbraced one of our men, the other with his sworde of wood, which he had secretly hidden vnder his mantell, strooke him on the head and slew him, and presently the other eight and twenty Sauages shewed themselues: the other Englishman perceiuing this, fled to his company, whom the Sauages pursued with their bowes, and arrowes, so fast, that the Englishmen were forced to take the house, wherein all the victuall, and weapons were: but the Sauages forthwith set the same on fire: by meanes whereof our men were forced to take vp such weapons as came first to hand, and without order to runne

<sup>289</sup> Of the two Indians who were taken over to England in 1584, it is difficult to underitand why one should have become a hearty and faithful friend of the English, and the other should have been turned into a bitter

and revengeful enemy. The men who had killed Master Howe were the same "with whom Wanchefe kept company," as if that were reason enough to give for their open hostility and their murderous spirit.

runne forth among the Sauages, with whom they skirmished aboue an houre. In this skirmish another of our men was shotte into the mouth with an arrow, where hee died: and also one of the Sauages was shot into the side by one of our men, with a wild fire arrow, whereof he died presently. The place where they fought was of great aduantage to the Sauages, by meanes of the thicke trees, behinde which the Sauages through their nimblenes, defended themselues, and so offended our men with their arrowes, that our men being some of them hurt, retyred fighting to the water side, where their boat lay, with which they fled towards Hatorask. By that time they had rowed but a quarter of a mile, they espied their foure fellowes coming from a creeke thereby, where they had bene to fetch Oysters: these foure they receiued into their boate, leauing Roanoak, and landed on a little Island on the right hand of our entrance into the harbour of Hatorask, where they remayned a while, but afterward departed, whether as yet we know not.<sup>240</sup>

Hauing now sufficiently dispatched our businesse at Croatoan, the same day we departed friendly, taking our leaue, and came aboard the fleete at Hatorask.

The eight of August, the Gouvernour hauing long expected the comming of the Wiroanfes, of Pomeiok, Aquascogoc, Secota, and Dafamonguepeuk, seeing that the seuen dayes were past, within which they promised to come in, or to send their answeres by the men of Croatoan, and no tidings of them

<sup>240</sup> This was all that could be found out touching the deaths of the fifteen men who were left in North Carolina by Sir Richard Grenville in 1586. Those who were not killed by the savages perished probably at sea in attempting to make a voyage in their boats from Roanoke Island down to Croatoan.

them heard, being certainly also informed by those men of Croatoan, that the remnant of Wingina his men, which were left aliue, who dwelt at Dasamonguepeuk, were they which had slaine George Howe, and were also at the driuing of our eleuen Englishmen from Roanoak, hee thought to deferre the reuenge thereof, no longer. Wherefore the same night about midnight, he passed ouer the water, accompanied with Captaine Stafford, and 24 men, wherof Manteo was one, whom we tooke with vs to be our guide to the place where those Sauages dwelt, where he behaued himselfe toward vs as a most faithfull Englishman.

The next day, being the 9 of August, in the morning so early that it was yet darke, we landed neere the dwelling place of our enemies, & very secretly conueyed ourselues through the woods, to that side, where we had their houses betweene vs and the water: and hauing espied their fire, and some sitting about it, we presently set on them: the miserable soules herewith amazed, fled into a place of thicke reedes, growing fast by, where our men perceiuing them, shot one of them through the bodie with a bullet, and therewith we entered the reedes, among which we hoped to acquite their euill doing towards vs, but we were deceiued, for those Sauages were our friends, and were come from Croatoan to gather the corne & fruit of that place, because they vnderstood our enemies were fled immediatly after they had slaine George Howe, and for haste had left all their corne, Tobacco, and Pompions standing in such sort, that al had bene deuoured of the birds, and Deere, if it had not bene gathered in time: but they had like to haue payd deerely for it: for it was so darke, that they being naked, and their men and  
women

women apparelled all so like others, wee knew not but that they were al men: and if that one of them which was a Wiroances wife had not had a child at her backe, shee had bene flaine in stead of a man, and as hap was, another Sauage knew master Stafford, and ran to him, calling him by his name, whereby hee was saued. Finding our selues thus disappointed of our purpose, we gathered al the corne, Pease, Pompions, and Tabacco that we found ripe, leauing the rest vnspoyled, and tooke Menatoan his wife, with the yong child, and the other Sauages with vs ouer the water to Roanoak. Although the mistaking of these Sauages somewhat grieved Manteo, yet he imputed their harme to their owne folly, saying to them, that if their Wiroances had kept their promise in comming to the Gouvernour at the day appointed, they had not knowen that mischance.<sup>341</sup>

The 13 of August our Sauage Manteo, by the commandement of Sir Walter Raleigh, was christened<sup>342</sup> in Roanoak, and

<sup>341</sup> The intercourse which began so pleasantly between the English and the natives in 1584 has already become cruel and bloody. Whether the chief fault was with the English or the natives we may not be able to decide. Probably there was fault on both sides.

<sup>342</sup> Dr. Hawks, in connection with this administration of the rite of baptism, very naturally raises the question, "whether there was a clergyman among the colonists." He says, "There is no prefix or suffix to any of the list of colonists' names that would seem to imply the presence of a minister of religion. This, however, is not conclusive. There may have been a clergyman among the colonists, even though no title is affixed to his name; and as Sir Walter gave positive orders, before the expedition

failed, that Manteo should be baptized when he reached America, it is not probable that, with the prevalent religious opinions of his day on the subject of baptism, he permitted it to fail without a chaplain." *History of North Carolina*, by F. L. Hawks, Vol. I. pp. 206, 207.

We may add, in further explanation, that no uniform law is followed by the different writers of these narratives in respect to titles. In the account given by Ralph Lane of the one hundred and eight men who passed the winter in Virginia, fourteen of them are named with the title of Master, or Mr. In that day clergymen, as also magistrates and officials, commonly bore the title Mr. In the early history of New England, the ministers were addressed

and called Lord thereof, and of Dafamonguepeuk, in reward of his faithfull seruice.

The 18 Elenor, daughter to the Gouvernour, and wife to Ananias Dare one of the Assistants, was deliuered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the same was christened there the Sunday following,<sup>243</sup> and because this child was the first Christian borne in Virginia<sup>244</sup> shee was named Virginia. By this time our ships had vnladen the goods and victuals of the planters, and began to take in wood, and fresh water, and to new calke and trimme them for England: the planters also prepared their letters and tokens to send backe into England.

Our two ships, the Lion and the Flyboat almost ready to depart, the 21 of August, there arose such a tempest at Northeast, that our Admirall then riding out of the harbour,

was

dressed by the title Mr. But in the list of names found in the narrative now before us, no title whatever is given to any man, not even the governor. He stands as plain *John White*. If Lane had written the narrative, he would have named him and several others with the prefix Mr. The absence, therefore, of this title, in the present case, is no proof that there was not a clergyman of the Church of England in the company.

<sup>243</sup> This child was baptized, as we are told, on Sunday, and the probabilities are that Manteo was baptized the previous Sunday. There were five days only between the baptism of Manteo and the birth of the child. It was common then in England, as it was afterward in New England, that children should be baptized only one, two, or three days after birth.

<sup>244</sup> The first English child born in Virginia being a girl, was very fittingly

named Virginia. Her grandfather was John White. The first English child born in New England was named Peregrine, or the foreigner. His father was William White. Peregrine White was born on board the *Mayflower*, in Cape Cod harbor, and lived to be Captain Peregrine White, and to die in Marshfield, July 22, 1704, in his eighty-fourth year. Virginia Dare had a very short life, probably, though the time and manner of her death are not known. But in 1590, of the one hundred and twenty-five English people, men, women, and children, left in North Carolina three years before, no one could be found. In what fear and misery they lived, and how they died, must be left only to gloomy conjecture. The little Virginia Dare must have perished probably before she was old enough to reflect upon the dangers by which she was surrounded.

was forced to cut his cables, and put to sea, where he lay beating off an on fixe dayes before he could come to vs againe, so that we feared he had bene cast away, and the rather for that at the time that the storme tooke them, the most and best of their failers were left aland.

At this time some controuerfies arose betweene the Gouernour and Assistants, about choosfing two out of the twelue Assistants, which should goe backe as factors for the company into England: for euery one of them refused, saue onely one, which all other thought not sufficient: but at length by much perfwading of the Gouernour, Christopher Cooper only agreed to goe for England: but the next day, through the perswasion of diuers of his familiar friends, hee changed his minde, so that now the matter stood as at the first.

The next day, the 22 of August, the whole company both of the Assistants and planters came to the Gouernour, and with one voice requested him to returne himselfe into England, for the better and sooner obtaining of supplies, and other necessaries for them: but he refused it, and alleaged many sufficient causes, why he would not: the one was, that he could not so suddenly returne backe againe without his great discredite, leauing the action, and so many whome hee partly had procured through his perswasions, to leaue their native countrey, and vndertake that voyage, and that some enemies to him and the action at his returne into England would not spare to slander falsly both him and the action, by saying, hee went to Virginia, but politikely, and to no other end but to lead so many into a countrey, in which hee neuer meant to stay himselfe, and there to leaue them behind  
him.



him. Also he alleaged, that seeing they intended to remoue 50 miles further vp into the maine presently, he being then absent, his stuffe and goods might be both spoiled, & most of them pilfered away in the cariage, so that at his returne he should be either forced to prouide himselfe of all such things againe, or else at his comming againe to Virginia find himselfe vtterly vnfurnished, whercof already he had found some prooffe, being but once from them but three dayes. Wherefore he concluded that he would not goe himselfe.

The next day, not onely the Assistants but diuers others, as well women as men, began to renew their requests to the Gouvernour againe, to take vpon him to returne into England for the supply, and dispatch of all such things as there were to be done, promising to make him their bond vnder all their handes and seales for the safe preseruing of all his goods for him at his returne to Virginia, so that if any part thereof were spoyled or lost, they would see it restored to him, or his Assignes, whensoever the same should be missed and demanded: which bond with a testimony vnder their hands and seales, they forthwith made, and deliuered into his hands: The copie of the testimony I thought good to set downe.

May it please you, her Maiesties subiects of England, we your friends and countrey-men, the planters in Virginia, doe by these presents let you and euery of you to vnderstand, that for the present and speedy supply of certaine our knowen and apparent lackes and needes, most requisite and necessary for the good and happy planting of vs, or any other in this land of Virginia, wee all of one minde & consent, haue most earnestly intreated, and vncessantly requested Iohn White, Gouvernour

ernour of the planters in Virginia, to passe into England, for the better and more assured help, and setting forward of the forefayd supplies: and knowing assuredly that he both can best, and wil labour and take paines in that behalfe for vs all, and he not once, but often refusing it, for our sakes, and for the honour & maintenance of the action, hath at last, though much against his will, through our importunicie, yeelded to leaue his gouernement, and all his goods among vs, and himselfe in all our behalves to passe into England, of whose knowledge and fidelitie in handling this matter, as all others, we doe assure ourselues by these presents, and will you to giue all credite thereunto, the 25 of August, 1587.<sup>245</sup>

The Gouvernour being at the last through their extreame intreating constrayned to returne into England, hauing then but halfe a dayes respite to prepare himselfe for the same, departed from Roanoak the seuen and twentieth of August in the morning, and the same day about midnight, came aboard the Flieboat, who already had weyed anker, and rode without the barre, the Admirall riding by them, who but the same morning was newly come thither againe. The same day both the ships weyed anker, and set saile for England: at this weying their ankers, twelue of the men which were in the Flieboate were thrown from the Capstone, which by meanes of a barre that brake, came so fast about vpon them, that the other two barres thereof strooke and hurt most of them so fore, that some of them neuer recouered it: neuertheless they assayed presently againe to wey their anker, but  
being

<sup>245</sup> Armed with this paper, no one was remarkable that no one at that time wished to return with him to charge White time wished to return with him to with desertion of his post of duty. It England.

being so weakened with the first fling, they were not able to weye it, but were throwen downe and hurt the second time. Wherefore hauing in all but fifteene men aboard, and most of them by this vnfortunate beginning so bruised, and hurt, they were forced to cut their Cable, and leefe their anker. Neuerthelesse, they kept company with the Admirall vntill the seuen-teenth of September, at which time wee fell with Coruo,<sup>246</sup> and fawe Flores.<sup>247</sup>

#### SEPTEMBER.

THE eighteenth, perceiuing of all our fifteene men in the Flyboate there remained but fwe, which by meanes of the former mischance, were able to stand to their labour: and that the Admirall meant not to make any haste for England, but to linger about the Island of Tercera<sup>248</sup> for purchase: the Flyboate departed for England with letters, where we hoped by the help of God to arriue shortly: but by that time we had continued our course homeward about twenty dayes, hauing had sometimes scarce and variable windes, our fresh water also by leaking almost consumed, there arose a storme at Northeast, which for fixe dayes ceased not to blowe so exceeding, that we were driuen further in those fixe then we could recouer in thirteen daies: in which time others of our faylers began to fall very sicke and two of them dyed, the weather also continued so close, that our Master sometimes in  
foure

<sup>246</sup> Corvo is the smallest island of the Azores that is inhabited.

<sup>247</sup> Flores is the most westerly of the group.

<sup>248</sup> Terceira is the second in size of

the Azores. It contains two hundred and twenty square miles. It is difficult of approach because of its almost perpendicular walls of rock, but there are a few points where it is accessible.

four days together could see neither funne nor starre, and all the beuerage we could make, with stinking water, dregs of beere, and lefs of wine which remayned, was but three gallons, and therefore now we expected nothing but famine to perish at Sea.

## OCTOBER.

THE 16 of October we made land, but we knewe not what land it was, bearing in with the same land at that day: about funne, set we put into a harbour, where we found a Hulke of Dublin, and a pinneffe of Hampton riding, but we knew not as yet what place this was, neither had we any boate to goe ashore, vntill the pinneffe sent off their boate to vs with 6 or 8 men, of whom we vnderstood wee were in Smerwick in the West parts of Ireland: they also releued vs presently with fresh water, wine, and other fresh meate.

The 18 the Gouvernour and the Master ryd to Dingen a Cushe, 5 miles distant, to take order for the new victualing of our Flieboate for England, and for reliefe of our sicke and hurt men, but within foure daies after the Boatswain, the Steward, and the Boatswains mate died aboard the Flieboat, and the 28 the Masters mate and two of our chiefe failers were brought sicke to Dingen.

## NOUEMBER.

THE first the Gouvernour shipped himselfe in a ship called the Monkie, which at that time was ready to put to sea from Dingen for England, leauing the Flyboat and all his companie in Ireland. The same day we set sayle, and on the  
third

third day we fell with the North side of the lands end, and were shut vp the Seuerne, but the next day we doubled the same for Mounts Bay.

The 5 the Gouvernour landed in England at Martafew, neere Saint Michaels mount in Cornewall.

The 8 we arriued at Hampton, where we vnderstood that our confort the Admiral was come to Portsmouth, and had bene there three weekes before: and also that Ferdinando the Master with all his company were not onely come home without any purchase, but also in such weaknesse by sicknesse, and death of their chiefeest men, that they were scarce able to bring their ship into harbour, but were forced to let fall anker without, which they could not wey againe, but might all haue perished there, if a small barke by great hap had not come to them to helpe them. The names of the chiefe men that died are these, Roger Large, Iohn Mathew, Thomas Smith, and some other saylers, whose names I knew not at the writing hereof. An. Dom. 1587.<sup>240</sup>

*The*

<sup>240</sup> The story of this first voyage under John White closes with nothing but trouble, sickness, and death, even among those who went back to England. But the curtain falls and hides from our sight the men, women, and children who stayed behind in North Carolina, and whom their friends were no more to see on earth. It was November, 1587, when White reached England. In the months following, the whole land was afire with preparations for the dreaded Spanish invasion. Sir Walter Raleigh was then one of the chief men of the realm, and upon him rested the most pressing responsibilities. As Governor of Cornwall, it was assigned to him to raise and arm two thousand men, for the land forces, from

that county. But his duties did not end with local operations of this kind. He was one of the prominent men at the court, and questions of every kind were brought for decision to him and his associates. A paragraph like the following, from the English State Papers, will aid us more than pages of general description in gaining some idea of Raleigh's activities in those hurrying months of 1587 and 1588.

March 31, 1588. — "Project or device set down by the Lord Treasurer, the Treasurer of the Household, Lord Gray, Sir John Norris, Sir Tho. Leighton, Sir Ric. Bingham, Sir Walter Raleigh and others, at the general consultation for the ordering of the forces of the

*The names of all the men, women and children, which safely arrived in Virginia, and remained to inhabit there.*  
1587. *Anno regni Reginae Elizabethae.* 29.

John White.	Humfrey Newton.	Michael Myllet.
Roger Baily.	Thomas Colman.	Thomas Smith.
Ananias Dare.	Thomas Gramme.	Richard Kemme.
Christopher Cooper.	Marke Bennet.	Thomas Harris.
Thomas Steuens.	John Gibbes.	Richard Tauerner.
John Sampson.	John Stilman.	John Ernest.
Dyonis Haruie.	Robert Wilkinson.	Henry Iohnson.
Roger Prat.	John Tydway.	John Starte.
George How.	Ambrose Viccars.	Richard Darige.
Simon Fernando.	Edmond English.	William Lucas.
Nicholas Iohnson.	Thomas Topan.	Arnold Archard.
Thomas Warner.	Henry Berry.	Iohn Wright.
Anthony Cage.	Richard Berry.	William Dutton.
John Iones.	John Spendloue.	Mauris Allen.
William Willes.	John Hemmington.	William Waters.
John Brooke.	Thomas Butler.	Richard Arthur.
Cutbert White.	Edward Powell.	Iohn Chapman.
Iohn Bright.	Iohn Burden.	William Clement.
Clement Tayler.	James Hynde.	Robert Little.
William Sole.	Thomas Ellis.	Hugh Tayler.
Iohn Cotsmur.	William Browne.	Richard Wildye.
		Lewes Wotton.

the realm to withstand any invasion. Places most suspected for the Spaniards to land in; places to be fortified. Order in certain places to hinder the landing of the enemy either by fortifications or by assembly of forces." *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1581-1590.* p. 471.

The stir and excitement were increasing continually until the latter part of July, 1588. Private men and noble-men poured out their treasures like

water. Several of them, among whom was Raleigh, furnished ships of war at their own expense.

We introduce these facts to exculpate Raleigh for his seeming neglect of his colony in America. He was so pressed with national cares, and so exhausted in his revenues by his large public expenditures, that it was well-nigh impossible for him, until public affairs should change, to fit out and send ships to America.

Lewes Wotton.  
 Michael Bishop.  
 Henry Browne.  
 Henry Rufoote.  
 Richard Tomkins.  
 Henry Dorrell.  
 Charles Florrie.  
 Henry Mylton.  
 Henry Paine.  
 Thomas Harris.  
 William Nichols.  
 Thomas Pheuens.  
 John Borden.  
 Thomas Scot.  
 Peter Little.  
 John Wyles.  
 Brian Wyles.  
 George Martyn.  
 Hugh Pattenfon.  
 Martin Sutton.  
 John Farre.  
 John Bridger.  
 Griffen Iones.  
 Richard Shabedge.

James Lafie.  
 Iohn Cheuen.  
 Thomas Hewet.  
 William Berde.

*Women.*

Elyoner Dare.  
 Margery Haruie.  
 Agnes Wood.  
 Wenefrid Powell.  
 Ioyce Archard.  
 Iane Iones.  
 Elizabeth Glane.  
 Iane Pierce.  
 Audry Tappan.  
 Alis Chapman.  
 Emme Merrimoth Col-  
   man.  
 Margaret Lawrence.  
 Ioan Warren.  
 Iane Mannering.  
 Rose Payne.  
 Elizabeth Viccars.

*Boyes and children.*

Iohn Sampfon.  
 Robert Ellis.  
 Ambrose Viccars.  
 Thomas Archard.  
 Thomas Humfrey.  
 Thomas Smart.  
 George How.  
 Iohn Prat.  
 William Wythers.

*Children borne in Vir-  
ginia.*

Virginia Dare.  
 Haruie.

*Sauages.*

Manteo.	{ That were in England and returned home into Vir- ginia with them.
Towaye.	

*To the Worshipful and my very friend Master Richard  
 Hakluyt, much happinesse in the Lord.*

Sir, as well for the satisfiing of your earnest request, as the performance of my promise made vnto you at my last being with you in England, I haue sent you (although in a homely stile, especially for the contentation of a delicate eare) the true discourse of my last voyage into the West Indies, and partes of America called Virginia, taken in hand about the  
 end

end of Februarie, in the yeare of our redemption 1590. And what euents happened vnto vs in this our iourney, you shall plainely perceiue by the sequele of my discourse. There were at the time aforesaid three ships absolutely determined to goe for the West Indies, at the speciall charges of M. Iohn Wattes of London Marchant. But when they were fully furnished, and in readinesse to make their departure, a generall stay was commanded of all ships thorowout England. Which so soone as I heard, I presently (as I thought it most requisite) acquainted Sir Walter Raleigh therewith, desiring him that as I had sundry times afore bene chargeable and troublesome vnto him, for the supplies and relieves of the planters of Virginia: so likewise, that by his endeaour it would please him at that instant to procure license for those three ships to proceede on with their determined voyage, that thereby the people in Virginia (if it were God's pleasure) might speedily be comforted and relieued without further charges vnto him. Whereupon he by his good meanes obtained license of the Queenes Maiestie, and order to be taken, that the owner of the 3 ships should be bound vnto Sir Walter Raleigh or his assignes, in 3000 pounds, that those 3 ships in consideration of their releasement should take in, & transport a conuenient number of passengers, with their furnitures and necessaries to be landed in Virginia. Neuerthelesse that order was not obserued, neither was the bond taken according to the intention aforesaid. But rather in contempt of the aforesaid order, I was by the owner and Commanders of the ships denied to haue any passengers, or any thing els transported in any of the said ships, sauing only myselfe & my chest; no not so much as a boy to attend vpo me, although I made great  
fute,



fute, & earnest intreatie aswell to the chiefe Commanders, as to the owner of the said ships. Which crosse and vnkind dealing, although it very much discontented me, notwithstanding the scarcety of time was such, that I could haue no opportunity to go vnto Sir Walter Raleigh with complaint: for the ships being then all in readinesse to goe to the Sea, would haue bene departed before I could haue made my returne. Thus both Gouvernours, Masters, and sailers, regarding very finally the good of their countrey men in Virginia, determined nothing lesse then to touch at those places, but wholly disposed themselues to seeke after purchase & spoiles, spending so much time therein, that sommer was spent before we arriued in Virginia.

And when we were come thither, the season was so vnfit, & weather so foule, that we were constrained of force to forsake that coast, hauing not seene any of our planters, with losse of one of our ship-boates, and 7 of our chiefe men: and also with losse of 3 of our ankers and cables, and most of our caskes with fresh water left on shore, not possible to be had aboard. Which euils & vnfortunate euent (as wel to their owne losse as to the hinderance of the planters in Virginia) had not chanced if the order set downe by Sir Walter Raleigh had bene obserued, or if my dayly & continuall petitions for the performance of the same might haue taken any place. Thus may you plainly perceiue the successe of my fift & last voiage to Virginia, which was no lesse vnfortunately ended then frowardly begun, and as lucklesse to many, as sinister to my selfe. But I would to God it had bene as prosperous to all, as noysome to the planters; & as ioyful to me, as discomfortable to them. Yet seeing it is not my first  
crossed

crossed voyage I remaine contented. And wanting my wishes, I leaue off from prosecuting that whereunto I would to God my wealth were answerable to my will. Thus committing the reliefe of my discomfortable company the planters in Virginia, to the merciful help of the Almighty, whom I most humbly beseech to helpe & comfort them, according to his most holy will & there good desire, I take my leaue : from my house at Newtowne in Kylmore the 4 of February, 1593.<sup>260</sup>

Your most welwishing friend,

JOHN WHITE.

<sup>260</sup> This explanatory letter of John noticed, was not written until two or White to Richard Hakluyt, it may be three years after the voyage.







## THE FIFTH VOYAGE TO AMERICA

UNDER THE CHARGE AND DIRECTION OF

SIR WALTER RALEGH, KNIGHT.

1590.

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HE 20 of March the three shippes<sup>251</sup> the Hope-  
well, the Iohn Euangelist,<sup>252</sup> and the little Iohn,  
put to sea from Plymmouth with two small  
Shallops.

The 25 at midnight both our Shallops were  
funke being towed at the ships stearnes by the Boatswaines  
negligence.<sup>253</sup>

On

<sup>251</sup> Hakluyt, in his narrative, gives the following title to this last voyage: "The fift voyage of M. Iohn White into the West Indies and parts of America called Virginia in the yeere 1590." This title, however, is misleading. It was John White's *second* voyage, but it was the fifth expedition that had been sent out of England under the charge of Raleigh. The first was that of Captains Amadas and Barlowe, the second and third were conducted by Sir Richard Grenville, and the fourth and fifth were

under the general direction of John White.

<sup>252</sup> They had singular ways of naming their ships in those days. Some of them received their names out of the Scriptures. We remember one that has come into notice somewhere in connection with these voyages, which was called *The Holy Ghost*.

<sup>253</sup> This voyage begins with accidents and calamities like those which, from the beginning to the end, attended the previous one.

On the 30 we saw a head vs that part of the coast of Barbary<sup>254</sup> lying East of Cape Cantyn,<sup>255</sup> and the Bay of Afaphi.

The next day we came to the Ile of Mogador,<sup>256</sup> where rode, at our passing by, a Pinnesse of London called the Mooneshine.

#### APRILL.

ON the first of Aprill we ankored in Santa Cruz<sup>257</sup> rode, where we found two great shippes of London lading in Sugar, of whom we had 2 shipboats to supply the losse of our Shalops.

On the 2 we fet sayle from the rode of Santa Cruz, for the Canaries.

On Saturday the 4 we saw Alegranza, the East Ile of the Canaries.

On Sunday the 5 of Aprill we gaue chase to a double fly-boat, the which, we also the same day fought with, and tooke her, with losse of three of their men slaine, and one hurt.

On Munday the 6 we saw Grand Canarie,<sup>258</sup> and the next day we landed and tooke in fresh water on the Southside thereof.

On

<sup>254</sup> They followed the usual habit in those days of pushing southerly from England, along the shores of France, Spain, and Portugal, past the Straits of Gibraltar, and some distance along the African shores, before taking their course across the ocean to the West Indies.

<sup>255</sup> Cape Cantyn, or Cantin, is on the coast of Morocco, some hundreds of miles south of the Straits of Gibraltar.

<sup>256</sup> Mogador is the principal seaport

of Morocco, and considerable trade centres about this harbor.

<sup>257</sup> The Spaniards left the name Santa Cruz in various parts of the world. The Santa Cruz here spoken of is on Teneriffe, the chief of the Canary Islands.

<sup>258</sup> Grand Canary, or Gran Canaria, is next to Teneriffe in size and population. Here the vessels took in their supply of water for the long stretch across the Atlantic. They would not land again till they reached Dominica.

On the 9 we departed from Grand Canary, and framed our course for Dominica.<sup>250</sup>

The last of Aprill we saw Dominica, and the same night we came to an anker on the Southside thereof.

MAY.

THE first of May in the morning many of the Saluages came aboard our ships in their Canowes, and did traffique with vs; we also the same day landed and entered their Toune from whence we returned the same day aboard without any resistance of the Saluages; or any offence done to them.<sup>250</sup>

The 2 of May our Admirall and our Pinneffe departed from Dominica leauing the Iohn our Viceadmirall playing off and on about Dominica, hoping to take some Spaniard outwards bound to the Indies; <sup>251</sup> the same night we had fight of three smal Ilands, called Los Santos, leauing Guadalupe and them on our starboard.<sup>252</sup>

The

<sup>250</sup> Dominica, which was reached in twenty-one days from the Canaries, was an island discovered by Columbus in his second voyage, and was named Dominica, Lord's Day, because he discovered it on Sunday. It was then occupied by Caribs, the aboriginal race inhabiting the islands of the Caribbean Sea. Its highest lands are between five thousand and six thousand feet above the sea.

<sup>250</sup> It was nearly one hundred years after the discovery of Dominica by Columbus when the ships of White came to the island. The Spaniards had, however, done little, in the mean time, to change its character, and the savage Caribs were still there as the leading inhabitants.

<sup>251</sup> This is the first symptom of that careless, roving spirit by which these ships were turned aside to lie in wait for possible Spanish prizes, instead of proceeding directly on their way to find, if possible, and carry relief to the colony left on the shores of America two years before. It seems to us, at first thought, a great neglect of duty on the part of White to allow the fleet under his command to be used for such purposes. But we must remember that this was a buccaneering age, and very likely White was instructed by Raleigh to take advantage of his opportunities for gaining Spanish prizes.

<sup>252</sup> From Dominica past Guadeloupe was not far from sixty miles, and their course

The 3 we had fight of S. Christophers Iland, bearing Northeaft and by Eaft off vs.

On the 4 we fayled by the Virgines, which are many broken Ilands, lying at the Eaft end of S. Iohns Iland : <sup>283</sup> and the fame day towards euening we landed vpon one of them called Blanca, where we killed an incredible number of foules : here we stayed but three houres, & from thence flood into the shore Northwest, and hauing brought this Iland Southeaft off vs, we put towards night thorow an opening or fwath, called The paffage, lying betweene the Virgines, and the Eaft end of S. Iohn : here the Pinneffe left vs and fayled on the South fide of S. Iohn.

The 5 and 6 the Admirall fayled along the Northfide of S. Iohn, fo neere the shore that the Spaniards difcerned vs to be men of warre : and therefore made fires along the coaft as we fayled by, for fo their cuftome is, when they fee any men of warre on their coasts.

The 7 we landed on the Northwest end of S. Iohn, where we watered in a good riuer called Yaguana, and the fame night following we tooke a Frigate of tenne tunne comming from Guathanelo laden with hides and ginger. In this place Pedro a Mollato, who knewe all our ftate ranne from vs to the Spaniards.

On the 9 we departed from Yaguana.

The 13 we landed on an Iland called Mona, <sup>284</sup> whereon  
were

coufe took them around the northern end of Dominica, by Prince Rupert's Point, when they puiled north, having Los Santos, Les Saintes, and Guadeloupe, on the right.

<sup>283</sup> The Iland of St. John here spoken

of is the San Juan of the Spaniards and the present Porto Rico. This is one of the group of the Virgin Isles, which are some fifty in number, the most of them very small.

<sup>284</sup> This ifland lies in what is called the

were 10 or 12 houses inhabited of the Spaniards; these we burned & tooke from them a Pinnesse, which they had drawn a ground and funke, and caried all her sayles, mastes, and rudders into the woods, because we should not take him away; we also chased the Spaniards ouer all the Iland; but they hid them in caues, hollow rockes, and bushes, so that we could not find them.<sup>265</sup>

On the 14 we departed from Mona, and the next day after wee came to an Iland called Saona,<sup>266</sup> about 5 leagues distant from Mona, lying on the Southside of Hispaniola neere the East end: betweene these two Ilands we lay off and on 4 or 5 dayes, hoping to take some of the Domingo fleete doubling this Iland, as a neerer way to Spaine than by Cape Tyburon,<sup>267</sup> or by Cape S. Anthony.<sup>268</sup>

On Thursday being the 19 our Viceadmirall, from whom we departed at Dominica, came to vs at Saona, with whom we left a Spanish Frigate, and appointed him to lie off and on other five daies betweene Saona and Mona to the ende aforesaid; then we departed from them at Saona for Cape Tyburon. Here I was enformed that our men of the Viceadmirall, at their departure from Dominica brought away two young Saluages, which were the chiefe Casiques sonnes of that Countrey and part of Dominica, but they shortly after ran away from them at Santa Cruz Iland, where the Viceadmirall landed to take in ballast.

On

the Mona Passage, about half way between Porto Rico and St. Domingo.

<sup>265</sup> White records the mean and outrageous conduct of his party on this little island without a word of condemnation.

<sup>266</sup> Only a few miles off from St. Domingo.

<sup>267</sup> Cape Tyburon is on the westerly end of the island of St. Domingo.

<sup>268</sup> Cape St. Anthony is at the westerly end of the island of Cuba.



On the 21 the Admirall came to the Cape Tyburon, where we found the Iohn Euangelist our Pinneffe staying for vs: here wee took in two Spaniards almost starued on the shore, who made a fire to our ships as we passed by. Those places for an 100 miles in length are nothing els but a desolate and mere wildernesse, without any habitation of people, and full of wilde Bulles and Bores, and great Serpents.<sup>269</sup>

The 22 our Pinneffe came also to an anker in Aligato Bay at Cape Tyburon. Here we vnderstood of M. Lane, Captaine of the Pinneffe; how he was set vnpon with one of the kings Gallies belonging to Santo Domingo, which was manned with 400 men, who after he had fought with him 3 or 4 houres, gaue ouer the fight & forsooke him, without any great hurt done on cyther part.<sup>270</sup>

The 26 the Iohn our Vizadmirall came to vs to cape Tyburon, and the Frigat which we left with him at Saona. This was the appointed place where we should attend for the meeting with the Santo Domingo Fleete.

On Whitsunday Euen at Cape Tyburon one of our boyes ranne away from vs, and at ten dayes end returned to our ships almost starued for want of food. In sundry places about this part of Cape Tyburon, we found the bones and carkases of diuers men, who had perished (as wee thought) by famine in those woods, being either stragled from their company, or landed there by some men of warre.

IUNE.

<sup>269</sup> St. Domingo is about four hundred miles in length and one hundred and sixty in breadth, thus giving room for these large uninhabited spaces.

<sup>270</sup> It is surprising that so many men

should have been engaged in a fight three or four hours to so little purpose. If they were really in earnest, there ought to have been some of them killed and wounded.

## IUNE.

ON the 14 of Iune we tooke a smal Spanish frigate which fell amongst vs so suddenly, as he doubled the point at the Bay of Cape Tyburon, where we road, so that he could not escape vs. This frigate came from Santo Domingo, and had but three men in her, the one was an expert Pilot, the other a Mountainer, and the third a Vintener, who escaped all out of prison at Santo Domingo, purposing to fly to Yaguana which is a toune in the West parts of Hispaniola where many fugitiue Spaniards are gathered together.

The 17 being Wednesday Captaine Lane was sent to Yaguana with his Pinnesse and a Frigate to take a shippe, which was there taking in freight, as we vnderstood by the old Pylot, whom we had taken three dayes before.

The 24 the Frigate returned from Captaine Lane at Yaguana, and brought vs word to cape Tyburon, that Captaine Lane had taken the shippe, with many passengers and Negroes in the same; which proued not so rich a prize as we hoped for, for that a Frenchman of warre had taken and spoyled her before we came. Neuerthelesse her loading was thought worth 1000 or 1300 pounds, being hides, ginger, Cannafistula, Copper-pannes, and Casau.

## IULY.

THE second of Iuly Edward<sup>71</sup> Spicer whom we left in England came to vs at Cape Tyburon, accompanied with a small

<sup>71</sup> Edward Spicer is introduced to us however, this is the first time that he here as though he were some one that has been brought to our notice. *Vide* we ought to know. If we mistake not, note following.

small Pinneffe, whereof one M. Harps was Captaine. And the same day we had fight of a fleete of 14 saile all of Santo Domingo, to whom we presently gaue chase, but they vpon the first sight of vs fled, and separating themselves scattered here and there: Wherefore we were forced to diuide our felues and so made after them vntill 12 of the clocke at night. But then by reason of the darkenesse we lost sight of each other, yet in the end the Admirall and the Moonelight<sup>272</sup> happened to be together the same night at the fetching vp of the Vizadmirall of the Spanish fleete, against whom the next morning we fought and tooke him, with losse of one of our men and two hurt, and of theirs 4 slaine and 6 hurt. But what was become of our Viceadmirall, our Pinneffe, and two Frigates, in all this time, we were ignorant.

The 3 of Iuly we spent about rifling, romaging and fitting the Prize to be sayled with vs.

The 6 of Iuly we saw Iamayca the which we left on our larboord, keeping Cuba in sight on our starboord.<sup>273</sup>

Vpon the 8 of Iuly we saw the Iland of Pinos, which lieth on the Southside of Cuba nigh vnto the West end or Cape called Cape S. Anthony. And the same day we gaue chase to a Frigat, but at night we lost sight of her, partly by the slow sayling of our Admirall, & lacke of the Moonelight our Pinneffe, whom Captaine Cooke had sent to the Cape the day before.

On

<sup>272</sup> The *Moonlight* is the name probably of the vessel in which Edward Spicer had come over.

<sup>273</sup> The distance across from Cuba to Jamaica must be not far from one hundred miles, and a person sailing between them might not be able to see both

islands at one and the same time, but each would be likely to come into view occasionally. In taking this course to the west toward the point of Florida they were not seeking the shortest course to North Carolina, but were still on the alert hunting Spaniards.

On the 11 we came to Cape S. Anthony, where we found our confort the Moonelight and her Pinneffe abiding for our comming, of whom we vnderstood that the day before there passed by them 22 saile, some of them of the burden of 300 and some 400 tunnes loaden with the Kings treasure from the maine, bound for Hauana: from this 11 of Iuly vntill 22 we were much becalmed: and the winde being very scarce, and the weather exceeding hoat, we were much pestered with the Spaniards we had taken: wherefore we were driuen to land all the Spaniards sauing three, but the place where we landed them was of their owne choise on the Southside of Cuba neere vnto the Organes and Rio de Puercos.

The 23 we had sight of the Cape of Florida, and the broken Ilands thereof called the Martires.

The 25 being S. Iames day in the morning, we fell with the Matanças, a head-land 8 leagues towards the East of Hauana, where we purposed to take fresh water in, and make our abode two or three dayes.

On Sunday the 26 of Iuly plying too and fro betweene the Matanças and Hauana, we were espied of three small Pinnaffee of S. Iohn de Vllua bound for Hauana which were exceeding richly loaden. These three Pinnaffes came very boldly vp vnto vs, and so continued vntill they came within musket shot of vs. And we supposed them to be Captaine Harps pinneffe, and two small Frigats taken by Captaine Harpe: wherefore we shewed our flag. But they presently vpon the sight of it turned about & made all the saile they could from vs toward the shore, & kept theselues in so shallow water, that we were not able to follow them,  
and

and therefore gaue them ouer with expence of shot & poulder to no purpose. But if we had not so rashly set out our flagge, we might haue taken them all three, for they would not haue knowen vs before they had bene in our hands. This chase brought vs so far to leeward as Hauana: wherefore not finding any of our consorts at y<sup>e</sup> Matanças, we put ouer again to the cape of Florida, & from thence thorow the channel of Bahama.<sup>274</sup>

On the 28 the Cape of Florida<sup>275</sup> bare West of vs.

The 30 we lost sight of the coast of Florida, and stood to Sea for to gaine the helpe of the current which runneth much swifter a farre off than in sight of the coast. For from the Cape to Virginia all along the shore are none but eddie currents, setting to the South and Southwest.

The 31 our three ships were clearely disbocked, the great prize, the Admirall, and the Mooneshine, but our prize being thus disbocked departed from vs without taking leaue of our Admirall or consort, and sayled directly for England.

#### AUGUST.

ON the first of August the winde scanted, and from thence forward we had very fowle weather with much raine, thundering, and great spouts, which fell round about vs nigh vnto our ships.

The

<sup>274</sup> Havana and Matanzas are both on the north shore of Cuba, distant from the Florida reef about one hundred and fifty miles.

<sup>275</sup> At last, after nearly three months, they have come in sight of the main land of America, and are preparing to sail northward to their destination.

It seems to us surprising that this company of English vessels could cruise around for months in these Spanish waters and among these Spanish islands with such audacity. Do not the facts in this case show the apparent superiority of the English at that time in naval matters?

The 3 we stooode againe in for the shore, and at midday we tooke the height of the same. The height of that place we found to be 34 degrees of latitude. Towards night we were within three leagues of the Low sandie Ilands West of Wokokon. But the weather continued so exceeding foule, that we could not come to an anker nye the coast: wherefore we stooode off againe to Sea vntill Monday the 9 of August.

On Munday the storme ceased, and we had very great likelihood of faire weather: therefore we stood in againe for the shore: & came to an anker at 11 sadome in 35 degrees of latitude, within a mile of the shore, where we went on land on the narrow sandy Island, being one of the Ilandes, West of Wokokon:<sup>276</sup> in this Iland we tooke in some fresh water and caught great store of fish in the shallow water. Betweene the maine (as we supposed) and that Iland it was but a mile ouer and three or foure foote deepe in most places.

On the 12 in the morning we departed from thence and toward might we came to an anker at the Northeast end of the Iland of Croatoan,<sup>277</sup> by reason of a breach which we perceiued to lie out two or three leagues into the Sea: here we roade all that night.

The 13 in the morning before we wayed our ankers, our boates were sent to sound ouer this breach: our ships riding  
on

<sup>276</sup> Wokokon was some twenty miles north of Cape Fear, and perhaps twenty miles south of Croatoan.

<sup>277</sup> As it afterward proved, it would have been wise if they had taken this opportunity to go on shore and explore

Croatoan. As matters turned, this place was at last left unexplored, though there were some good reasons for thinking that they would there have heard of the lost colony. For the course they took there may have been unrevealed reasons.

on the side thereof at 5 fadome; and a ships length from vs we found but 4 and a quarter, and the deeping and shallow- ing for the space of two miles, so that sometimes we found 5 fadome, and by & by 7, and within two casts with the lead 9, & then 8, next cast 5, & then 6, & then 4, & then 9 againe, and deeper; but 3 fadome was the last, 2 leagues off frō the shore. This breach is in 35 degr. & a halfe, & lyeth at the very Northeast point of Croatoan, whereas goeth a fret out of the maine Sea into the inner waters, which part the Ilandes and the maine land.

The 15 of August towards Euening we came to an anker at Hatorask,<sup>278</sup> in 36 degr. and one third, in fīue fadom water, three leagues from the shore. At our first cōming to anker on this shore we saw a great smoake rise in the Ile Roanoak neere the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1587, which smoake put vs in good hope that some of the Colony were there expecting my returne out of England.

The 16 and next morning our 2 boates went ashore & Cap- taine Cooke, & Cap. Spicer, & their cōpany with me, with intent to passe to the place at Raonoak<sup>279</sup> where our country- men were left. At our putting from the ship we commanded our Master gunner to make readie 2 Minions<sup>280</sup> and a Fal-  
kon

<sup>278</sup> It was more than sixty miles from Croatoan to Hatorask, and as they crept along the coast cautiously because of the shallows, it occupied them nearly two days in passing from the one to the other. Now at last they have come to the place where Captains Amadas and Barlowe cast anchor in 1584.

<sup>279</sup> It is about twenty miles, by boat, from Hatorask Inlet up to the north end of Roanoke Island, which, through all the previous voyages, has been the head-

quarters of the English settlers. Here was where the colony was left three years before. To this place, therefore, they first directed their search.

<sup>280</sup> A Minion, according to Webster, is "an ancient form of ordnance of small size, the caliber of which was about three inches." He quotes a line in illustration from Beaumont & Fletcher:—

"Load me but these two *minions* in the chafe there."

kon<sup>281</sup> well loden, and to shoot them off with reasonable space betweene euery shot, to the ende that their reporte might bee heard to the place where wee hoped to finde some of our people. | This was accordingly performed, & our twoe boats put off vnto the shore, in the Admirals boat we founded all the way and found from our shippe vntill we came within a mile of the shore nine, eight, and seuen fadome: but before we were halfe way betweene our ships and the shore we saw another great smoke to the Southwest of Kindrikers mountes: we therefore thought good to goe to that second smoke first: but it was much further from the harbour where we landed, than we supposed it to be, so that we were very fore tired before wee came to the smoke. But that which grieved vs more was that when we came to the smoke, we found no man nor signe that any had bene there lately, nor yet any fresh water in all this way to drinke. Being thus wearied with this iourney we returned to the harbour where we left our boates, who in our absence had brought their caske a shore for fresh water, so we deferred our going to Roanoak vntill the next morning, and caused some of those saylers to digge in those sandie hills for fresh water whereof we found very sufficient. That night wee returned aboard with our boates and our whole company in safety.

The next morning being the 17 of August, our boates and company were prepared againe to goe vp to Roanoak, but Captaine Spicer had then sent his boat ashore for fresh water, by meanes whereof it was ten of the clocke aforenoone before

<sup>281</sup> A Falkon was another antique and carrying a ball weighing about four form of cannon, some seven feet long, pounds.



fore we put from our ships which were then come to an anchor within two miles of the shore. The Admirals boat was halfe way toward the shore, when Captaine Spicer put off from his ship. The Admirals boat first passed the breach, but not without some danger of sinking, for we had a sea break into our boat which filled vs halfe full of water, but by the will of God and carefull styrage of Captaine Cooke we came safe ashore, sauing onely that our furniture, victuals, match and powder were much wet and spoyled. For at this time the winde blew at Northeast and direct into the harbour so great a gale, that the Sea brake extremely on the barre, and the tide went very forcibly at the entrance. By that time our Admirals boate was halled ashore, and most of our things taken out to dry, Captaine Spicer came to the entrance of the breach with his mast standing vp, and was halfe passed ouer, but by the rash and vndiscreet styrage of Ralph Skinner his Masters mate, a very dangerous Sea brake into their boate and ouerset them quite, the men kept the boat some in it, and some hanging on it, but the next sea set the boat on ground, where it beat so, that some of them were forced to let goe their hold, hoping to wade ashore; but the Sea still beat them downe, so that they could neither stand nor swimme and the boat twise or thrise was turned the keele vpward, whereon Captaine Spicer and Skinner hung vntill they funke, & were seene no more. But foure that could swimme a litle kept themselves in deeper water and were saued by Captaine Cookes meanes, who so soone as he saw their ouersetting, stripped himselfe, and foure other that could swimme very well, & with all haste possible rowed vnto them, and saued foure. They were a 11 in all, & 7 of the chiefeest were

were drowned, whose names were Edward Spicer, Ralph Skinner, Edward Kelley, Thomas Beuis, Hance the Surgeon, Edward Kelborne, Robert Coleman. This mischance did so much discomfort the saylers, that they were all of one mind not to goe any further to seeke the planters.<sup>282</sup> But in the end by the commandement & persuation of me and Captaine Cooke, they prepared the boates: and seeing the Captaine and me so resolute, they seemed much more willing. Our boates and all things fitted againe, we put off from Hatorask, being the number of 19 persons in both boates: but before we could get to the place, where our planters were left, it was so exceeding darke, that we ouershot the place a quarter of a mile: there we espied towards the North end of the Iland y<sup>e</sup> light of a great fire thorow the woods, to the which we presently rowed: when wee came right ouer against it, we let fall our Grapnel neere the shore, & sounded with a trumpet a Call, & afterwarde many familiar English tunes of Songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answer, we therefore landed at day-breake, and coming to the fire, we found the grasse and fundry rotten trees burning about the place.<sup>283</sup> From hence

<sup>282</sup> An accident like this on a wild and stormy coast, with no signs of human life discoverable, must have had a very depressing effect upon the sailors. In the moments following this terrible calamity, perhaps White and the officers of the expedition may have raised the question within themselves, whether it might not have been otherwise if they had come directly to Roanoke Island in the early summer, instead of waiting months, lying in wait for Spanish plunder.

<sup>283</sup> This fire may have been kindled by the Indians that very night, or more likely it may have been a fire accidentally kindled days before from some Indian's pipe, which continued to blaze and smoulder alternately, according to the swell and lull of the wind. Fires in wild forests are not uncommon; and as it was now beyond the middle of August, the summer sun may have so burned the fields and forests as to have made it easy to kindle open-air fires. From the tracks in the sand, the sav-

hence we went thorow the woods to that part of the Island directly ouer against Dasamongwepeuk, & from thence we returned by the water side, round about the North point of the Island vntill we came to the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1586. In all this way we saw in the sand the print of the Saluages feet of 2 or 3 sorts trodden y<sup>e</sup> night, and as we entered vp the sandy banke vpon a tree, in the very browe thereof were curiously carued these faire Romane letters C R O: which letters presently we knew to signifie the place, where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed vpon betweene them & me at my last departure frō them, which was, that in any wayes they should not faile to write or carue on the trees or posts of the doores the name of the place where they should be seated; for at my cōming alway they were prepared to remoue from Roanoak 50 miles into the maine. Therefore at my departure from them in An. 1587 I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carue ouer the letters or name, a Crosse + in this forme, but we found no such signe of distresse. And hauing well considered of this, we passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken downe, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with cortynes [curtains] and flankers very Fort-like, and one of the chiefe trees or postes at the right side of the entrance had the barke taken off, and 5 foote from the ground in fayre Capitall letters was grauen CROATAN<sup>284</sup>

without

ages had evidently been about there recently.

<sup>284</sup> White's understanding of the mean-

ing of these letters seems to have been that the company which he left here removed at some time to Croatoan, some sixty

without any crosse or signe of distresse ; this done, we entered into the palisado, where we found many barres of Iron, two pigges of lead, foure yron fowlers, Iron sacker-shotte, and such like heauie things, throwen here and there, almost ouergrown with grasse and weedes. From thence we went along by the water side, towards the poynt of the Creeke to see if we could find any of their botes or Pinnesse, but we could perceiue no signe of them, nor any of the last Falkons and small Ordinance which were left with them, at my departure from them. At our returne from the Creeke, some of our saylers meeting vs, tolde vs that they had found where diuers chefts had bene hidden, and long sithence digged vp againe and broken vp, and much of the goods in them spoyled and scattered about, but nothing left, of such things as the Sauages knew any vse of, vndefaced. Presently Captaine Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the ende of an olde trench, made two yeeres past by Captaine Amadas : where wee found fise Chefts, that had bene carefully hidden of the Planters, and of the same chefts three were my owne, and about the place many of my things spoyled and broken, and my bookes torne from the couers, the frames of some of my pictures and Mappes rotten and spoyled with rayne, and my armour almost eaten through with rust ; this could bee no other but the deede of the Sauages our enemies at Dasingwepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men  
to

sixty miles to the south. It did not appear, however, that they left in conditions of distress, for, in that case, they were to make the sign of the cross over the name of the place where they had gone. A little farther on, White, in

his narrative, says : " I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certaine token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was borne, and the Sauages of the Island our friends."

to Croatoan; and assoone as they were departed digged vp euery place where they suspected any thing to be buried: but although it much, grieued me to see such spoyle of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly ioyed that I had safely found a certaine token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was borne, and the Sauages of the Iland our friends.

When we had seene in this place so much as we could, we returned to our Boates, and departed from the shoare towards our shippes, with as much speede as wee could: For the weather beganne to ouercast, and very likely that a foule and stormie night would ensue. Therefore the same Euening with much danger and labour, we got our selues aboard, by which time the winde and seas were so greatly risen, that wee doubted our Cables and Anchors would scarcely holde vntill Morning: wherefore the Captaine caused the Boate to be manned with fife lusty men, who could swimme all well, and sent them to the little Iland on the right hand of the Harbour, to bring aboard fixe of our men, who had filled our caske with fresh water: the Boate the same night returned aboard with our men, but all our Caske ready filled they left behinde, vnpossible to bee had aboard without danger of casting away both men and boates: for this night prooued very stormie and foule.

The next Morning it was agreed by the Captaine and my selfe, with the Master and others, to wey anchor, and goe for the place at Croatoan, where our planters were: for that then the winde was good for that place, and also to leaue that Caske with fresh water on shoare in the Iland vntill our returne. So then they brought the cable to the Capston, but

but when the anchor was almost apeecke, the Cable broke, by meanes whereof we lost another Anchor, wherewith we droue so fast into the shoare, that wee were forced to let fall a third anchor: which came so fast home that the Shippe was almost aground by Kenricks mounts: so that wee were forced to let slippe the Cable ende for ende. And if it had not chanced that wee had fallen into a chanell of deeper water, closer by the shoare then wee accompted of, wee could neuer haue gone cleare of the poynt that lyeth to the Southwardes of Kenricks mounts.<sup>285</sup> Being thus cleare of some dangers, and gotten into deeper waters, but not without some losse: for wee had but one Cable and Anchor left vs of foure, and the weather grew to be fouler and fouler; our victuals scarfe, and our calke and fresh water lost: it was therefore determined that we should goe for Saint Iohn or some other Iland to the Southward for fresh water. And it was further proposed, that if wee could any wayes supply our wants of victuals and other necessaries, either at Hispaniola, Saint Iohn, or Trynidad, that then wee should continue in the Indies all the Winter following, with hope to make 2 rich voyages of one, and at our returne to visit our countreyemen at Virginia.<sup>286</sup> The captaine and the whole company in the Admirall

<sup>285</sup> Kindrinker, Kendrick, or Kendrick's mounts is a designation which we have not met with except in this last voyage. White mentions the place twice in the closing pages of his last voyage. Something had happened, probably, in connection with a man named Kendrick or Kenrick, by which the place had come to be known as Kendrick's mounts. Among the people named in these narratives, we do not recall any

one of the name Kendrick. The occasion for giving this name may, however, have transpired when Sir Francis Drake was here with his ships in the summer of 1586.

<sup>286</sup> After nearly three months spent in the West Indies, they had only been on the shores of North Carolina six days. It is true the weather was bad, and they had been unfortunate; but it looks like trifling when they had come so far on

Admirall (with my earnest petitions) thereunto agreed, so that it rested onely to knowe what the Master of the Moone-light our consort would doe herein. But when we demanded them if they would accompany vs in that new determination, they alleaged that their weake and leake Shippe was not able to continue it; wherefore the same night we parted, leauing the Moone-light to goe directly for England, and the Admirall set his course for Trynidad, which course we kept two dayes.

On the 28. the winde changed, and it was settled on foule weather euery way: but this storme brought the winde West and Northwest, and blewe so forcibly, that wee were able to beare no sayle, but our fore-course halfe mast high, wherewith wee ranne vpon the winde perforce, the due course for England, for that wee were driuen to change our first determination for Trynidad, and stoode for the Ilands of Açores, where wee purposed to take in fresh water, and also there hoped to meete with some English men of warre about those Ilands, at whose hands wee might obtaine some supply of our wants. And thus continuing our course for the Açores, sometimes with calmes, and sometimes with very scarce windes, on the fifteenth of September the winde came South Southeast, and blew so exceedingly, that wee were forced to lye atry all that day. At this time by account we iudged our selues to be about twentie leagues to the West of Ceuero and Flores, but about night the storme ceased, and fayre weather ensued.

On

on a specific errand, and were seemingly so near the accomplishment of their purpose, suddenly to give up and fail away.

On Thursday the seuenteenth wee saw Cueruo and Flores,<sup>297</sup> but we could not come to anker that night, by reason the winde shifted. The next Morning being the eighteenth, standing in againe with Cueruo, we escryed a sayle a head vs, to whom we gaue chase: but when we came neere him, we knew him to be a Spanyard, and hoped to make sure purchase of him: but we vnderstood at our speaking with him, that he was a prize, and of the Domingo fleete already taken by the Iohn our consort, in the Indies. We learned also of this prize, that our Viceadmirall and Pinnesse had fought with the rest of the Domingo fleete, and had forced them with their Admirall to flee vnto Iamaica vnder the Fort for succour, and some of them ran themselves aground, whereof one of them they brought away, and tooke out of some others so much as the time would permit. And further wee vnderstood of them, that in their returne from Iamaica about the Organes neere Cape Saint Anthony, our Viceadmirall mette with two Shippes of the mayne land, come from Mexico,<sup>298</sup> bound for Hauana, with whom he fought: in which fight our Viceadmirals Lieutenant was slaine, and the Captaines right arme strooken off, with foure other of his men slaine, and sixteen hurt. But in the ende he entred, and tooke one of the Spanish shippes, which was so fore shot by vs vnder water, that before they could take out her treasure she sunk; so that we lost thirteene Pipes of siluer which sunke with her, besides much other rich marchandize. And in the meanetime the other Spanish shippe

<sup>297</sup> Cuervo and Flores are islands of the Azores group.

atives that mention has been made of Mexico, a country conquered by Spain

<sup>298</sup> This is the first time in these nar- in 1519.



shippe being pearced with nine shotte vnder water, got away ; whom our Viceadmirall intended to pursue : but some of their men in the toppe made certaine rockes, which they saw aboue water neare the shoare, to be Gallies of Hauana and Cartagena, comming from Hauana to rescue the two Ships ; Wherefore they gaue ouer their chafe, and went for England. After this intelligence was giuen vs by this our prize, he departed from vs, and went for England.

On Saturday the 19. of September we came to an Ancre neere a small village on the North side of Flores, where we found ryding 5. English men of warre, of whom wee vnderstood that our Viceadmirall and Prize were gone thence for England. One of these fve was the Moonlight<sup>289</sup> our confort, who vpon the first sight of our comming into Flores, set sayle and went for England, not taking any leaue of vs.

On Sunday the 20. the Mary Rose, Admirall of the Queenes fleete, wherein was Generall Sir Iohn Hawkins,<sup>290</sup> stood in with Flores, and diuers other of the Queenes ships, namely the Hope, the Nonpareilia, the Rainebow, the Swiftsure, the Foresight, with many other good merchants ships of warre as the Edward Bonauenture, the Marchant Royal, the Amitie, the Eagle, the Dainty of sir Iohn Hawkins, and many other good ships and pinneffes, all attending to meete with the king of Spaines fleete, comming from Terra firma of the West Indies.

The

<sup>289</sup> For some reason the *Moonlight*, though called "our confort," did not seem to confort very closely with the other vessels. She seemed ready enough to leave them on the shores of America, and is inclined now to keep out of their company.

<sup>290</sup> Sir John Hawkins, one of the most distinguished of the English naval commanders of the Elizabethan period, was at this time well advanced in life. He was born at Plymouth, England, in 1520, and died in 1595. He was knighted for his conduct against the Spanish Armada.

The 22. of September we went aboard the Raynebow, and towards night we spake with the Swift-sure, and gaue him 3. pieces. The captaines desired our company; wherefore we willingly attended on them: who at this time with 10. other ships stood for Faial. But the Generall with the rest of the Fleete were separated from vs, making two fleetes, for the surer meeting with the Spanish fleete.

On Wednesday the 23. we saw Gratiofa,<sup>201</sup> where the Admirall and the rest of the Queens fleete were come together. The Admirall put forth a flag of counsell, in which was determined that the whole fleete should go for the mayne, and spread themselves on the coasts of Spaine and Portugal, so farre as conueniently they might, for the surer meeting of the Spanish fleete in those parts.

The 26. we came to Faial,<sup>202</sup> where the Admirall with some other of the fleete ankred, other some plyed vp and downe betweene that and the Pico vntill midnight, at which time the Anthony shot off a piece and weyed, shewing his light: after whom the whole fleete stood to the East, the winde at Northeast by East.

On Sunday the 27. towards Euening wee tooke our leaue of the Admirall and the whole fleete, who stood to the East. But our shippe accompanied with a Flyboate stoode in againe with S. George, where we purposed to take in more fresh water, and some other fresh victuals.

On Wednesday the 30. of September, seeing the winde  
hang

<sup>201</sup> Of the nine principal islands composing the Azores, Gratiofa, or Graciosa, is among the smaller.

<sup>202</sup> Faial, or Fayal, is one of the most distinguished of the Azores, though two or three are larger, territorially. This group is off the coast of Portugal about eight hundred miles.

hang so Northerly, that wee could not atteine the Iland of S. George, we gaue ouer our purpose to water there, and the next day framed our due course for England.

## OCTOBER.

THE 2. of October in the Morning we saw S. Michaels Iland<sup>293</sup> on our Starre board quarter.

The 23. at 10. of the clocke afore noone, we saw Vihant<sup>294</sup> in Britaigne.

On Saturday the 24. we came in safetic, God be thanked, to an anker at Plymmouth.<sup>295</sup>

<sup>293</sup> St. Michael is the largest island of the Azores.

<sup>294</sup> Uihant, Ouessant, is an island some ten or fifteen miles off from the French coast over against Brest. The French word *ouezl*, from which Ouessant is taken, has the same combination of sounds as our word *weel*, and means the same. At Ouessant the French coast reaches farthest into the ocean.

<sup>295</sup> This was the harbor from which they set out nearly seven months before, on a voyage useless as to the purpose for which it was undertaken. In taking our leave of this interesting but sad story, we group together several passages from different writers, which will make a fitting close to the narrative. The first is from Dr. Hawks.

"What had become of the wretched colonists? No man can with certainty say: for all that White found to indicate their fate was a high post bearing on it the letters C R O, and at the former site of the village he found a tree which had been deprived of its bark and bore in well-cut characters the word CROATAN. There was some comfort in finding no cross carved above

the word, but this was all the comfort the unhappy father and grandfather could find. He of course hastened back to the fleet determined instantly to go to Croatan, but a combination of unpropitious events defeated his anxious wishes: storms and a deficiency of food forced the vessels to run for the West Indies for the purpose of refitting, wintering and returning; but even in this plan White was disappointed and found himself reluctantly compelled to run for the Western Islands and thence for England. Thus ended the effort to find the lost colony; they were never heard of. That they went to Croatan where the natives were friendly, is almost certain, and that they became gradually incorporated with them is probable from the testimony of a historian, Lawson, who lived in North Carolina and wrote in 1714. He says: 'The Hatteras Indians who lived on Roanoke Island or much frequented it, tell us, that several of their ancestors were white people and could talk in a book as we do. They value themselves extremely for their affinity to the English, and are ready to do them all friendly offices.'

offices. It is probable that the settlement miscarried for want of timely supplies from England; or through the treachery of the natives, for we may reasonably suppose that the English were forced to cohabit with them, for relief and conversation: and that in process of time, they conformed themselves to the manners of their Indian relations, and thus we see how apt human nature is to degenerate.

"This slight vestige of the ultimate fate of White's colony concludes the history of Sir Walter Raleigh's noble but unavailing efforts." *History of North Carolina*, by Dr. Francis L. Hawks, Vol. I. p. 248.

We quote the following from another writer on the history of North Carolina:

"Thus ended the efforts of the brave and gallant Raleigh to establish a colony in North Carolina. . . . Although his gallantry and services found no favor in the eyes of the pusillanimous James I., under whom he suffered ignominy and death: after a long and rigorous confinement, he was tried for offences of which he was innocent: convicted and beheaded on Oct. 29, 1618, yet his name has been preserved; and after a lapse of 200 years the State of North Carolina has offered a tribute to his memory and his virtues by naming its capital

in honor of the generous, chivalric and noble Raleigh.

"His memory sparkles o'er the fountain;  
His name inscribed on lofty mountain;  
The meanest rill, the mightiest river  
Rolls mingled with his name forever."

In accordance with the suggestions of the sagacious councils of Sir Walter the Chesapeake became the point to which future efforts were directed." *History of North Carolina*, by John H. Wheeler, Philadelphia, 1851, pp. 26, 27.

"Notwithstanding the vast expense of men and treasure, wasted in the attempt to establish an English colony on the shores of the northern continent of America, at the expiration of about twenty years since the first voyage of Amidas and Barlowe to Ocracoak, there was not, at the death of Queen Elizabeth, the 24 of March, 1603, a single individual settled on the main, and although upwards of a century had elapsed since the discovery of the new world by Columbus, no European nation, excepting the Spaniards, had succeeded in making a settlement upon it, and a few soldiers of that nation maintained at two or three posts in Florida appear to have been all the Europeans in North America." *History of North Carolina*, by F. X. Martin, New Orleans, 1829, Vol. I. p. 45.







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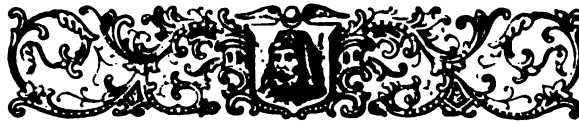


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